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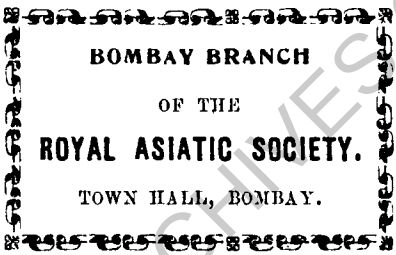

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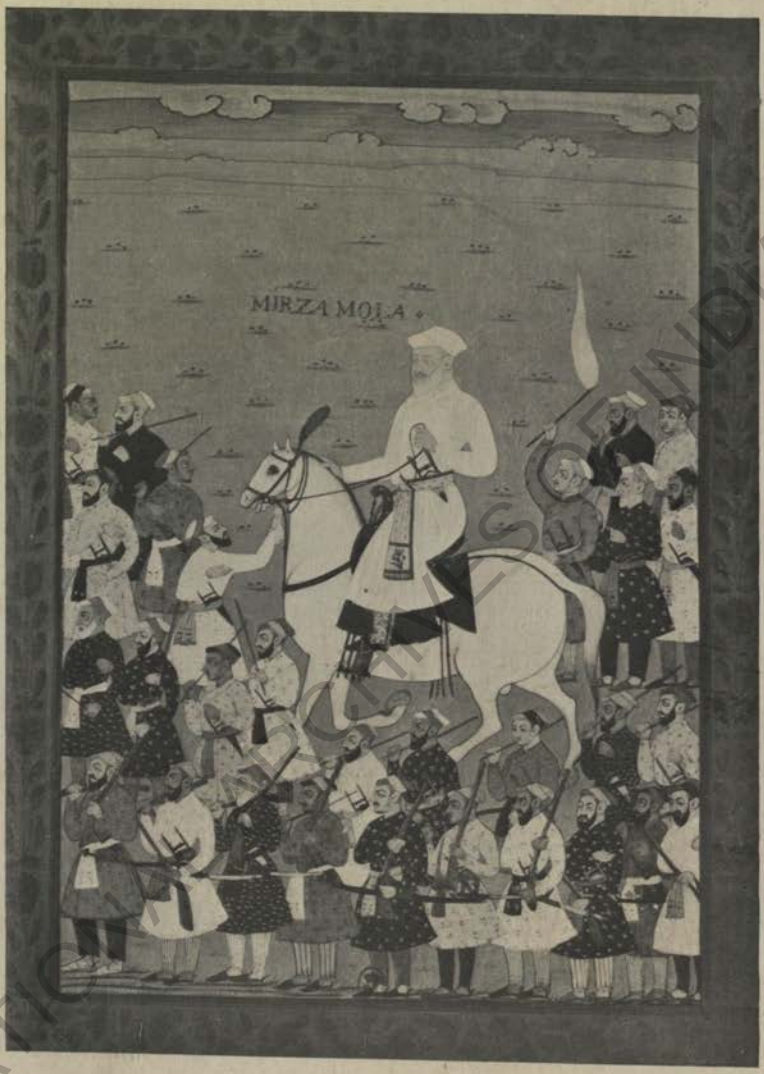

MĪR JUMLA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

1651–1654

A CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS IN THE INDIA OFFICE, WESTMINSTER

BY

WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.

31655 aa

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PREFACE

APART from the general history of the East India Company's settlements, the outstanding feature of the present instalment is the war between England and Holland in 1652–54, and its consequences in the East. Thanks to their naval power, the Dutch were able to sweep our shipping from the seas in those regions, thus causing the East India Company much material loss, and diminishing greatly the prestige of the English both in India and Persia. Other points of interest are the renewed struggle between the Portuguese and the Dutch; the mission of Lord Bellomont to Shāh Abbās of Persia on behalf of the exiled King Charles; and the efforts of Shāh Jahān's troops in 1652 and 1653 to recapture Kandahār from the Persians.

Including those dealt with in the notes, the documents here summarized number about two hundred and fifty. Of these all but two (viz. one from the Public Record Office and one from the British Museum) belong to the India Office archives, mainly to the *Original Correspondence* series. No Indian Record Office possesses any documents of this period.

The portrait of the Nawāb Mīr Jumla given as a frontispiece is one of the collection of Indian paintings prepared by order of Niccolao Manucci for the illustration of his *Storia do Mogor*. This collection, now in the Bibliothèque

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Nationale, Paris (Cabinet des Estampes, O.D. no. 45, réserve), was utilized by the late Mr. William Irvine in his edition of Manucci's work (Indian Text Series, 1907–8), and amongst the rest Mīr Jumla's portrait was reproduced (vol. ii, p. 468). As, however, the Nawāb figures so prominently in the present volume and its predecessor, it has seemed appropriate to give a likeness of him here; and the editor's acknowledgements are due to M. Henri Omont, the head of the MSS. Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale, for his courteous assent to this utilization of the original.

The editor has also to thank Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and Mr. Henry Dodwell, the Curator of the Madras Record Office, for assistance in regard to Indian names and terms occurring in the text and notes.

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INTRODUCTION

THE successful mission of Richard Davidge to Delhi in the summer of 1650 has been narrated in the preceding volume. As, however, he did not quit the capital until the middle of February, 1651, the present instalment contains three interesting letters from him, describing the final stages of his deputation and the efforts made to put in force the *farmāns* he had obtained. He complained much of the expense to which he had been put personally by his visit to the Emperor Shāh Jahān; and as a result the President and Council at Surat gave him a gratuity of 400 rupees. They had been vexed to find that the *farmān* for Surat contained a clause providing that, in the event of their failing to agree with the Governor as to the price of goods required for the Emperor, these were to be sent up to court and the price fixed there. Such an arrangement foreboded so much trouble and delay that President Merry and his Council declared that they would not accept the *farmān*, if that clause remained; but Davidge failed in his efforts to get the document altered, and in the end they had to be content with a letter from Khalīlullah Khān to the Governor, advising him to settle all such matters in Surat itself.

Of the two vessels which had reached Surat from England in December, 1650, it had been decided to send back only the *Love*, which sailed accordingly at the beginning of February, 1651, with a cargo invoiced at about 26,000*l.* Her consort, the *Aleppo Merchant*, was dispatched to Gombroon in January, returned in March, and was thereupon again sent to Gombroon, with orders to proceed to the Coromandel Coast before coming back to Surat to lade for England. Several of the smaller vessels were similarly employed in carrying freight goods to Persia; while two, the *Seahorse* and the *Falcon*, were ordered to Basra. The *Lanneret*, having been refitted at Damān, was dispatched to Mokha, whence she was to take coffee or freight goods to Basra, and on her way back to call at Lārībandar to embark any goods that might be ready there. The *Expedition*, on her return from Persia, was sent to Bantam, via

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Rājāpur and Goa. A little later the *Assada Merchant* sailed for St. Augustine's Bay (Madagascar) to leave letters for the outcoming fleet from England, warning them of the failure of the attempt to establish a colony on the island of Assada; after discharging this duty, she proceeded to Mozambique, where she sold a few goods and procured some gold and ivory, with which she got back to Surat in the middle of October.

The number of voyages made from Surat to Gombroon was chiefly due to the great increase in the carrying trade between those two ports, resulting from the obstruction of the land route by the struggle between Persia and India for the possession of Kandahār. This development benefited largely the customs revenue at Gombroon; and as a consequence we find the English factors full of resentment at the continued refusal of the local officials to pay over to them more than a small proportion of the receipts, instead of the full moiety specified in the agreement of 1622. The Persians defended their action by alleging that the agreement contemplated the defence of the Gulf by the English, and that this had not been fulfilled; while they also accused the Company's servants of reducing the port revenues by passing off as their own the goods of Asiatic merchants, which thereby escaped all payment. There can be little doubt that this was done to a considerable extent (see Codrington's letter on p. 313 of the previous volume), and it is not therefore to be wondered at that the port officials thought themselves justified in resisting the English claims.

Nevertheless, the English merchants were evidently in considerable favour at the Persian court, owing partly to the presents made by them to the King and partly to a desire to play them off against the Dutch, whose masterful attitude had created considerable resentment. The opportune arrival of a couple of mastiffs gave the factors a further means of ingratiating themselves with the King, and Lewis, the English chief, was delighted to find himself allowed precedence over the Dutch, though the latter had given a much more liberal present (p. 67). In September, 1651, overtures were made to the English to enter into a contract for purchasing all the royal silk; but, as no terms were stated and the factors were without authority to make so far-reaching a bargain, they could only promise to refer the matter to the Company. In December

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we learn that the King, since he could not be supplied (as he wished) with some Englishwomen for his harem, had demanded a dozen black beaver hats, 'to make pasttime withall amongst his woemen'; whereupon the factors gave him as many as they could spare, 'with divers bands and cuffs' (p. 78).

The first ship to arrive at Swally from England during the cold weather of 1651 was a small private vessel named the *Recovery*, which the Company had allowed to proceed to Assada, carrying settlers for that island, and then to go 'to the eastwards', apparently for purposes of discovery. Finding Assada deserted, the captain decided to bear up for Surat, in order to land his passengers, most of whom, on arriving there, agreed to enter the Company's service; and the ship sailed on her return voyage about the end of October. On September 26 (two days after the arrival of the *Recovery*) the *Eagle* and *Blessing* reached Swally from England; and on the same day the *Aleppo Merchant* came in from Gombroon, to which port she had returned from the Coromandel Coast. The *Eagle* had brought out a successor to Merry, in the person of Captain Jeremy Blackman. He had formerly been in the service of Courteen, and had commanded the *William* in a voyage to India and China in 1643–45; after his return he joined the Company, and in August, 1647, was elected a 'Committee' for the Second General Voyage. A few months later he was appointed to command the *Golden Fleece* in a voyage to Surat, from which he returned in the summer of 1649. He took a prominent part in the inception of the Assada scheme, and on the formation of the United Joint Stock became one of the 'Committees' for that body. In February, 1650, he was asked to go to Surat as President, but declined on learning that he would have to serve as second there until Merry was prepared to leave. In the following November, however, when it was known that Merry was anxious to return at once, Blackman accepted the post, at a salary of 500*l.* a year, to begin (contrary to custom) at his departure from England and to cease only upon his arrival home; and he was further accorded permission to take his wife and family with him.

On his way out, Blackman paid a visit to Assada. He had been warned by the letters left at St. Augustine's Bay by the *Assada Merchant* that the settlement had been deserted, but he deemed it

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necessary to proceed thither, in order to ascertain what had become of the two ships sent to the island from England in ignorance of the facts; moreover, he was anxious to avoid a breach of contract with the settlers on board his own vessels. A long and interesting letter from him on the subject is given on p. 102. On arrival at Surat, finding that some months must elapse before Merry embarked for England, and being unwilling in the meantime to act as Second in Council, Blackman agreed to proceed in the *Eagle* to Rājāpur for the purpose of buying saltpetre, returning (after a visit to Goa) in the middle of December. The *Blessing* would have been dispatched for Gombroon with freight goods, but the Governor of Surat prohibited any foreigners from accepting such goods until the Emperor's own junks for that port were full; she was therefore sent to the southwards to buy rice, which she was to carry to Muskat or Suhār for sale, proceeding thence to Gombroon. From this port she sailed at the end of April, 1652, for the Coromandel Coast.

In November, 1651, a Dutch Commissary touched at Surat on his way to Gombroon. The authorities at Batavia, much concerned at the state of Dutch trade in Persia, had decided to dispatch thither an envoy who should compose all matters in dispute, obtain exemption from all customs dues, and if possible make a contract for the purchase of a large quantity yearly of the royal silk, at a price not exceeding 45 tūmāns (i.e. 150*l.*) a bale. For this purpose they chose one of the members of Council at Batavia, named Joan Cunaeus. He reached Gombroon in the middle of December, 1651, and Ispahān two months later. The negotiations, which lasted till June, ended in a bargain far from advantageous to the Dutch. The King's ministers took a high tone throughout, and when, at one point, Cunaeus threatened to quit the court, he was told that he would not be permitted to do so until the claim made against his employers on behalf of the King had been fully satisfied; while he was threatened with the seizure of the Dutch factors and goods at Gombroon and the complete rupture of relations between the two nations. Faced with this unpleasant alternative, he resumed his negotiations and at last agreed to take 300 bales of silk yearly at the high price of 48 tūmāns each, while the only concession obtained was that Dutch imports and exports were to be free from duty up to the value of 20,000 tūmāns yearly. Even then, the agreement

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was found to be ambiguously worded, and a doubt was started whether the silk purchased from the King was to be reckoned among the goods to which the limit applied; and the authorities at Batavia reported to their employers that if the 20,000 tūmāns included the silk, the bargain would be very disadvantageous on the whole (*Hague Transcripts* at I. O., series i. vol. xviii. no. 538). The dissatisfaction of the Dutch was probably not lessened by the news that the English had soon after been allowed to purchase a quantity of silk at 38 tūmāns a bale (p. 144).

Merry, having twelve days before handed over charge at Surat to Blackman, left for England in the *Eagle* on January 24, 1652, her consort, the *Aleppo Merchant*, having started eight days before.[1] The scarcity that had prevailed in Upper India and Gujarāt had lessened the quantity of saltpetre available, while the Company had ordered smaller supplies of indigo and piece-goods, owing to bad markets at home; but their room was supplied by increased quantities of sugar, cinnamon, &c., and the cargoes of the two ships were valued at about 37,000*l.* In the *Eagle* returned also Richard Davidge, the late chief at Agra. Just before his departure, a series of charges was levelled at him by Hammersly, his second, who accused him of cheating the Company in various ways. Investigations made later left little doubt of Davidge's guilt; but in the end he got off with a fine of 450*l.* (*Court Minutes*, December 6, 1653).

As Lewis, the chief in Persia, was anxious to return home,[2] it was decided to send John Spiller, the late chief in Sind, to replace him; and Spiller sailed accordingly for Gombroon in the *Lanneret* on January 17. The actual change of administration was not to take place until the end of the season; so in the meantime Spiller

[1] Both vessels reached England safely in the following August. Towards the end of the year Merry was elected Alderman of Portsoken Ward, but he resigned after three months. He appears to have settled at Friern Barnet. His death occurred in January, 1655.

[2] Lewis sailed for England in the *Smyrna Merchant* early in 1653, carrying with him a considerable fortune, part of which was spent in the purchase of the estate of Ledstone in Yorkshire. He married the daughter of Sir Thomas Foot (Lord Mayor, 1649–50), and for a short time in 1656 he was an alderman of the City of London. In 1657 he was Master of the Ironmongers Company; and his name is found in the list of 'Committees' of the East India Company at various dates between that year and 1665. He was knighted in May, 1660, and was created a baronet in the following October. His death occurred on August 14, 1671, at the age of fifty-six. (Information from the Rev. A. B. Beaven.)

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was instructed to proceed in the same vessel to Lārībandar to set in order the English affairs in Sind. He reached the latter port on March 10, and was much annoyed to find that the Dutch, who had noted that their rivals were finding profit in the trade of the Indus ports, had sent a mission to Tatta to seek permission to establish a factory on the same terms. This was readily accorded (p. 116) and the Company's factors had now to face competition in the one district which they had hitherto had to themselves.[1] Having obtained a lading for the *Lanneret* of freight goods for Kung and Basra, Spiller embarked in her in April, 1652, and spent the rest of the year between those ports, Gombroon, Lārībandar, and Surat, finally taking charge at Gombroon on February 7, 1653.

Besides the *Lanneret*, three other vessels—the *Seahorse*, *Falcon*, and *Assada Merchant*—were busy this season carrying freight goods from Surat to Gombroon. This continued demand for freight was due, as we have seen, to the military operations which were closing, or threatening to close, the land route by way of Kandahār. The failure of Prince Aurangzeb's attempt to retake that city from the Persians in 1649 had been a bitter blow to Mogul pride. A curious story occurs in a Dutch letter from Surat in March, 1651 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvii. no. 533), to the effect that Shāh Jahān had caused his soothsayers to find out whether he would be successful if he went in person against the city, or whether its capture was reserved for one of his sons. 'The lot fell on Sultān Shujā, whereupon his father has summoned him from Bengal and is making great preparations to send him to the Persian war.' The design, however, if seriously contemplated (cf. p. 58), was soon abandoned; and when, in the spring of 1652, an Indian army was once more dispatched to beleaguer the city, the command was again given to Aurangzeb, assisted by Sadullah Khān, Shāh Jahān himself supporting the operations from Kābul. The siege began early in May, and lasted over two months. Several assaults failed, and at last, partly owing to the alarm created by a raid of the Uzbeks on the line of communication between Kandahār and Kābul, the attempt was abandoned on July 9.

[1] A point of interest in the present volume is the failure of an attempt made by Prince Aurangzeb to draw the trade of the Indus delta away from Tatta to a new port he was making (pp. 10, 52, 118).

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The long-standing dispute with the Bījāpur authorities over the seizure of certain English goods at Rājāpur and elsewhere has been referred to in the Introduction to the previous volume. As no satisfaction could be obtained, orders were given to capture all vessels belonging to Bījāpur ports, with the result that two junks from Sātavli were taken by the *Falcon* on her way back from Basra. One of these was rifled and then released; the other was brought to Swally as a prize (p. 143). This action produced letters from the Governors of the two ports, promising satisfaction of the English claims; and a little later the Governor of Sātavli came himself to Surat to negotiate an accommodation, while the Rājāpur merchants sent a sum of money in part payment and promised more later (p. 150). The capture of two junks belonging to Chaul evoked further assurances of speedy redress (p. 163); but a settlement was prevented by the outbreak of war with the Dutch (p. 171). Further negotiations are referred to on pp. 216, 224, and satisfaction is expressed at the outcome; while from a letter written in November, 1654 (p. 300), we learn that all matters in dispute had been amicably settled.

The ill-success of the Dutch embassy to Persia was repeated in India. The failure of Jan Tack's mission to Delhi in 1648 has been narrated in the Introduction to the last volume; also his more successful visit to court in the following year. However, as many grievances remained unredressed, particularly the treatment experienced by the Dutch factors in Bengal, a further mission was resolved upon, and Gerard Pelgrim, who had been made Director at Surat in July, 1651, was instructed to employ for this purpose Jan Berckhout, the second in the Agra factory. Shāh Jahān's absence from Delhi prevented a start being made until late in 1652, and it was the last day of that year when Berckhout and Tack were received in audience and laid their presents at the feet of the Emperor. Every effort was made to win the favour of the principal members of the court, and especially of the Princess Jahānārā, whose influence with her father was unbounded and who was specially interested in the revenues of Surat. After some time spent in negotiations, a settlement was reached which appeared to be satisfactory. The Dutch request for exemption from customs at Surat and Broach was rejected, but it was agreed that for the future they should make

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a fixed annual payment of 55,000 rupees in lieu of all dues—this being the amount paid on the average during the preceding four years; a *farmān* was promised, granting freedom from way-dues in Bengal; also one for Surat, permitting the building and repairing of boats and the erection of a house on the shore at Swally. To the request that the restrictions on the taking of freight goods might be removed a refusal was given, on the plea that this would injure the imperial revenues; while the demand for the surrender of fugitive Dutchmen who sought admission to Islam was negatived on religious grounds. In return for these concessions, the two envoys found themselves obliged to undertake (though they had no authority for this) that passes would be freely issued for Indian vessels bound to Achin and other ports under Dutch control. So far everything had been reasonably satisfactory; and the two Hollanders, finding their expenses very heavy, resolved not to wait for the delivery of the *farmāns*, but to return at once to Agra, leaving a couple of Indian agents to receive the documents. This action proved unwise, for, when the *farmāns* reached Agra, their contents were found to be less explicit than was desired. The *farmān* for Bengal, whilst granting exemption from road-dues on goods passing down from Delhi and other places to the Bengal ports, said nothing about the tolls levied at Patna on those carried down by water. Berckhout at once posted back to Delhi to endeavour to get the defects made good; but as he had no official authority and had brought no presents he was refused an audience. Meanwhile, an effort had been made to effect a redress of the Dutch grievances by direct negotiations with the Viceroy, Shāh Shujā, to whose court at Rājmahāl a visit was paid by Commissary Jan Verpoorten in March, 1653. The Prince was, however, nettled to find that the matters in dispute had been carried to Delhi, and he was further prejudiced by the representations made by the Governors of Hūglī and Pipplī against the Hollanders, particularly as regards their refusing passes to Indian ships. He therefore declined to receive either the envoy or his presents, and ordered his officials to dispatch ships without troubling about Dutch passes, to exact all the usual dues, and to take other measures against them. This rebuff the Dutch were forced to endure in patience, being too much engaged in other directions to add to the number of their enemies; and a little later they found

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means to obtain more favourable treatment from the Prince. (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvii. no. 529; vol. xviii. nos. 538, 547A, 550 (1) (2); vol. xix. no. 560; series iii. vol. iv. R 8.)

Early in September, 1652, the *Smyrna Merchant* reached Swally from England, and about ten days later the *Endeavour* arrived from Bantam. The *Seahorse*, which had been sent to Mokha in the spring, returned in the middle of October, having made little beyond the money received for freight. On November 29 the *Assada Merchant* came in from Gombroon, bringing a letter which had been received overland from the Company, dated June 18. This gave the intelligence that relations were strained between the States-General and the English Government, and warned the factors to be on their guard against the Dutch accordingly. In reply, the President and Council detailed (p. 144) the steps they were taking to meet the situation: the return voyage of the *Endeavour* to Bantam was being deferred, and they had decided not to venture any vessel so far as Basra: at the same time they saw no reason to stop the trade with Persia for the present, as the ships would in any case be safe from attack in Gombroon Road. Moreover, it was thought that the Dutch would be slow to move, as they had enemies enough on their hands. The truce agreed upon with the Portuguese in 1641 having now expired, the war with them had been renewed in the East, a proclamation to that effect having been made at Batavia in May, 1652 (p. 151 *n.*); and in addition the Hollanders had to deal with a formidable revolt in Amboina, fomented by their old enemy, the King of Macassar. In these circumstances Blackman and his colleagues felt themselves reasonably safe from any Dutch attack for the present, and they did not hesitate to dispatch the *Smyrna Merchant* on her homeward voyage in the middle of January, 1653, and other vessels to Gombroon a few weeks after.

From this sense of security they soon had a rude awakening. The *Roebuck*, from the Coromandel Coast, anchored off Gombroon on January 21, 1653, followed about a fortnight later by the pinnace *Lanneret* from Surat; and by the middle of February both vessels were ready for dispatch to the latter port. Though no definite news of a declaration of war had reached the English factors, there were indications from the behaviour of the Dutch that such was the

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case; and in reality the latter were fully aware of the outbreak of hostilities, but were concealing the fact lest the English ships should be deterred from quitting the shelter of the port; while, as a further blind, they had sent away the *Concordia* (the only ship they had), ostensibly for Ceylon. An incoming junk brought intelligence that she had been seen cruising about at the entrance of the Straits; but it was doubtless thought by the English factors that their two vessels would in any case be a match for her, and so they were allowed to depart. However, the *Concordia* had been joined by two other Dutch ships from Surat, and on February 15, after a short fight, the *Roebuck* and *Lanneret* were captured. A day or two later they were brought into Gombroon Road in triumph, to the intense mortification of Spiller and his associates. The hope so airily expressed at Surat (p. 146) that, in the event of a conflict, each Englishman would prove himself 'as good as two Dutchmen' had not been fulfilled, for the crews of both vessels had behaved badly. The first broadside from the Dutch admiral had brought down the *Roebuck's* foremast, the sails of which, falling on some of the guns, were set on fire by the return discharge. The flames spread to the forecastle, whereupon most of the crew, in a panic, took to the longboat, leaving their officers and the Asiatic passengers to put out the fire. This necessitated cutting away the mainmast, and the vessel, thus disabled, surrendered on the approach of the Dutch boats. The little *Lanneret* had already given herself up without resistance. This was the first time that the Dutch and the English had come into conflict in those waters, and the ease with which the latter had been vanquished caused a great sensation amongst the Persians (p. 166).

The English factors at Gombroon at once exerted themselves to prevent further disasters. As other English vessels were known to be on their way, they sent warning letters to Jask, where boats were to be hired to carry them on board any ship that might be near that port. These were successful in warning the *Endeavour*, which managed on March 2 to get into Gombroon Road and take shelter under the guns of the Persian fort on the island of Ormus, much to the annoyance of the Dutch, who found themselves thus baulked of their expected prey. They were careful, however, to give her no chance of escaping, and so there she had to remain for nearly a year,

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while the cost of maintaining her crew and providing her with stores proved a constant drain upon the funds of the Gombroon factors.

Meanwhile the Surat Council, although apprised on February 11, by a private letter from Aleppo, that war had actually broken out, had dispatched the *Supply* to Gombroon on February 24. Shortly after, upon their attempting to procure freight for the *Falcon*, which they were intending for Basra, the Dutch formally announced that the two nations were engaged in hostilities, and warned all merchants to refrain from sending goods in English ships, with the result that the voyage had to be abandoned. These threats, however, did not deter Blackman from sending on March 14 the *Seahorse* to Mokha, with instructions to proceed thence to Basra. At the same time orders were given to Jesson, the chief at Agra, to lay the state of affairs before the Emperor, with a view to obtaining his protection for the English and their trade; while similar representations were made to the Governor of Surat. As might have been expected, it was found that Shāh Jahān 'would not meddle with itt in one way nor other' (p. 214). In writing to the Company on March 23, the President and Council said: 'Wee were never soe sencible of the want of a port in these parts (as that wee might call our owne) as wee are at present, and are like to bee if these warrs continue'; and they proceeded to suggest that the cession of Bombay and Bassein might be obtained from the Portuguese (possibly also some ports in Ceylon), if the English Government would send out a fleet to assist the latter in their struggle against the Dutch (p. 170). A similar suggestion was made by Spiller in a letter of April, 1654 (p. 272).

A fresh budget of bad news soon arrived from Persia. The warnings sent out by the Gombroon factors failed to reach the *Supply*, which was approaching in company with the *Blessing* (from the Coromandel Coast), and on March 25 both vessels were captured by the Dutch, and a few days later were brought into Gombroon Road. From the vivid account of the fight given by the master on p. 191, it appears that the *Blessing* made a stout resistance for over seven hours against two of the Dutch ships, and yielded only when boarded. The *Supply* attempted to make her escape by running ashore, but then surrendered on terms, which included the release

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of the crew with their personal belongings. They were accordingly put ashore at Gombroon, and not long after sixty of the captured Englishmen managed to make their escape and join them. Most of these men were sent over to Ormus to strengthen the crew of the *Endeavour*. Henry Young was deputed to Ispahān to complain of the behaviour of the Dutch, particularly of their being allowed to sell the captured goods at Gombroon; and, meanwhile, such money as the factors had in hand was taken inland to Lar, until an opportunity should offer of transporting it to India. These arrangements having been made, Spiller and his only remaining colleague left Gombroon and joined Young at Ispahān on July 25. There they were much cheered by news that the Dutch fleet had been beaten in the English Channel in the preceding February. It proved, however, impossible to induce the Persian officials (in the absence of the King) to interest themselves in the quarrels of the rival European nations, as their whole attention was fixed on the situation at Kandahār. In the spring of 1653 the Great Mogul had sent a fresh army to besiege that city, the enterprise being this time entrusted to Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son of Shāh Jahān. For five months the siege lasted, and then, a desperate assault having failed and the winter drawing near, Dārā reluctantly abandoned the attempt. Thus ended, in bitter failure, the third of the strenuous and costly endeavours made by the Mogul Emperor to recapture Kandahār.

In March, 1653, the Company sent out instructions that, in view of the interruption to trade caused by the Dutch war, 20,000*l.* out of the funds available in Persia should be invested in silk, which should be sent overland to Aleppo and Smyrna, whence it was to be brought to England; and the order was repeated in the following September (p. 197). In August, 1654, however, the Company wrote cancelling these instructions, as peace had now been concluded (p. 286); and this countermand arrived in time to stop the dispatch of the silk.

Early in April, 1653, six Dutch ships anchored at Swally, and after a short time departed for Gombroon, where they arrived at the end of May. For the rest of the year we hear much of the activity of the Dutch in those parts—of their negotiations with the Imām of Omān for their settling at Muskat (pp. 195, 203), of their endeavour to obtain possession of the English house at Basra (p. 202), and of

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their intrigues at Kung (pp. 209, 212, 218). On p. 211 is given also an account of the mission of Philip Angel, the Dutch Agent at Ispahān, to the Persian court; while there are numerous references to their purchases of silk, which seem to have been on a large scale.

At home, the Company had decided, notwithstanding the war, to freight and dispatch to Surat the *Welcome* (240 tons), and to follow up this by hiring the *Eagle* again and sending her, as a precaution, to Goa, where it was thought she might be laden with goods brought overland from the Coromandel Coast or by sea from Surat. A third ship was in a manner forced upon them, for in November, 1652, a petition was presented to the Council of State by Captain Thomas Steevens, Nathaniel Tems, and William Noke—all three former servants of the Company—for leave to send out a vessel named the *Dove*. The Company opposed the application, but were advised in reply to settle the matter amicably; and thereupon it was decided to take over the venture and freight the ship for Surat. Tems and Noke were put under a heavy bond to do nothing likely to prejudice the Company's interests; and, although Noke pressed earnestly for permission to go out in either the *Dove* or the *Welcome*, his applications were steadily refused. Nevertheless, he managed to get aboard the former vessel when the two set sail in company on March 14, 1653. The project of sending out the *Eagle* had perforce to be postponed, as, owing to the needs of the navy, sufficient sailors could not be found to man her; it was resolved, therefore, on April 9, to defer her dispatch until the autumn.

The *Dove* and the *Welcome* did not venture to go straight to Swally, but, in accordance with their instructions, put first into Diu, where they arrived towards the end of August. The *Seahorse*, returning from Mokha, had managed to elude the Dutch and get into the Tāptī about a fortnight earlier; whereupon she was laid up and her crew turned over to the *Falcon*, which had been lying cooped up there since the beginning of hostilities. Thus strengthened, the latter was ordered to join the other two vessels at Diu and proceed with them to Ormus, rescue the *Endeavour*, and return by way of Lārībandar and Rājāpur to Surat. The *Falcon* sailed accordingly at the end of November, just escaping a fleet of four Dutch ships which anchored at Swally soon after. Diu was safely reached and the instructions were duly communicated to the

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commanders of the *Dove* and *Welcome*. An unexpected obstacle however, presented itself. The crews of those two vessels (which were both hired ships, not the Company's own property) objected strongly to proceed on the expedition, saying that they had come out on a trading voyage, not to seek a fight with the Dutch, for, if the latter had been their object, 'they might have had fighteing worke enough at home'. After a delay of seventeen days they were persuaded to obey their officers, and the three ships put to sea. In the Persian Gulf they had a skirmish with a couple of Dutch ships, which was ended by the English making for Gombroon Road, where they were joined by the *Endeavour*. After embarking a quantity of silk, all four sailed on the return voyage. On January 23, 1654, they came in sight of Lārībandar Road, where, to their dismay, they found five Dutch ships lying at anchor. These at once put to sea and engaged the English. The *Dove* soon fled, followed after a while by the *Welcome*. The *Falcon* collided with two of the Dutch ships in turn, losing her foremast; then a cry arose that the vessel was on fire, and her men, in a panic, took to their boats, one of which got safely to the *Welcome*, while the other surrendered to the Dutch, who did not, however, take possession of the ship herself until the following day. The *Endeavour* in the meantime was hotly engaged with two of the enemy's vessels, and did not strike her flag until she was so injured that she sank almost as soon as the Dutch got on board, carrying with her a number both of the victors and of the vanquished. The commander of the Dutch fleet complained bitterly of the conduct of two of his captains, through whose inaction the *Welcome*, the only English vessel that had anything of value on board, was allowed to escape (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xix. no 563); while Tavernier, who was in one of the ships that attacked the *Falcon* and claims to have assisted in firing the shot that set her alight (Ball's translation, vol. i. p. 314), endorses the censure, and indeed wrote candidly to his English friends that 'never was fight worss managed on boath sides' (p. 251).

At the end of November, 1653, Spiller, in obedience to orders from Surat, had started for the Persian court, accompanied by another Englishman, to complain to the King regarding the proceedings of the Dutch. His Majesty was then in the province of

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Mazanderān, which borders the Caspian Sea, and at the close of the year Spiller and his companion, after a toilsome march, reached Ashrāf just as the King was quitting it. They had in consequence to proceed to Ferahābād, whence, before anything could be effected, the court removed again to Ashrāf. Among the officials Spiller found little sympathy for the misfortunes of the English, and a considerably increased respect for the Dutch (p. 226). In February he received a *farmān* from the King in answer to his petition, only to find, as he expected, that it was quite unsatisfactory. In fact, the Persian monarch was no more willing than Shāh Jahān had shown himself, to interfere in the quarrels of the Europeans, especially now that the Dutch had proved themselves the strongest naval power in the East. Spiller therefore took his leave and returned to Ispahān (March, 1654), thankful to get away from the damp, unhealthy climate of Mazanderān (p. 271). His mission had coincided with one from Russia, of which he gives an interesting account (pp. 225, 271).

The *Dove* and the *Welcome* reached Surat on February 5, and took refuge in the river there. Shortly after, a couple of Dutch ships arrived with the captured *Falcon*, to the great mortification of the English factors. In addition to the shame of defeat and the embarrassment caused by the loss of nearly all their local shipping, they found difficulties on every side. Most of their capital was still in Persia, and large quantities of goods were lying at Lārībandar and Rājāpur, without prospect of transportation to Surat; while the Governor of Ahmadābād had stopped a large quantity of saltpetre on its way down to the port. Their only consolation was that, even if they had had goods ready for shipment, nothing could have been done, as the *Dove* and *Welcome* dared not quit the river for fear of capture. Noke, seeing no prospect of getting away, and finding that the factors were deterred by the Company's orders from lending him any countenance or assistance, decided to go home by way of Aleppo, with a Dutch pass, and started accordingly on April 5. A few days later the Dutch fleet sailed, and an attempt was made to get the *Dove* and the *Welcome* out of the river and send them home; however, the wind prevented this being done at one spring tide and the next would be too late to permit of their starting for England. Thereupon it was decided to dispatch them

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to Rājāpur, to fetch the goods lying there; but this intention was frustrated by an order from the Governor of Surat prohibiting their departure, and so the vessels had to remain where they were during the rains. The factors were very sore at the low esteem in which the English were now held at Surat, and advocated strong measures being taken to re-establish their position, both in India and Persia (p. 281). Meanwhile in Europe the war between England and Holland had come to an end. The victories of the Commonwealth fleet had brought Dutch commerce to the verge of ruin, and all classes in Holland were desirous of peace. After long-continued negotiations, a treaty was signed at Westminster on April 5, 1654, which brought hostilities to a conclusion. Amongst its provisions were three affecting the East India Company. In the first place, no claim was to be made on either side for losses suffered during the war: secondly, the Dutch undertook to punish those responsible for the 'Massacre' of Amboina: and thirdly, all claims for losses prior to the outbreak of the war were to be referred to a joint Anglo-Dutch Commission, which was to meet in London on May 18, and issue its award within three months, failing which, the dispute was to be referred to the arbitration of the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland. The Commissioners met at the time appointed, and the English East India Company presented a claim amounting to nearly 2,696,000*l.* including 120,000*l.* on account of the non-payment by the Hollanders of customs at Gombroon, and 77,200*l.* for losses caused by the Dutch protecting certain junks at Surat in 1624; while in addition they demanded the restitution of the islands of Pulo Run and Lantore, in the Bandas, liberty to settle at the Cape of Good Hope (where the Dutch had just established a station), and compensation for the four ships captured in the Persian Gulf in 1653. The last demand was barred by the terms of the treaty, and though it was pleaded that this did not apply, inasmuch as the ships were taken by the agents of a private company, the application was not seriously entertained. The counterclaim submitted by the Dutch Company came to a still higher figure, viz. nearly 2,920,000*l.* The Commissioners' award, dated August 30, ordered that the Dutch East India Company should pay the English Company 85,000*l.* in full settlement, and should hand over the island of Pulo Run: that the heirs of the Englishmen who had suffered at Amboina should

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receive 3,615*l.*; and that in future no claim should be made by the English on the Dutch for customs in Persia.[1]

In May, 1654, letters were received from the Company overland, ordering the dissolution of all factories in the Western Presidency except Surat, Agra, Ispahān, and Gombroon. The staff at Surat was to be reduced to six, and Pearce was appointed to succeed Blackman (on the departure of the latter) at a salary of 200*l.* only (p. 198). Lucknow had already been abandoned, in consequence of orders sent from Surat in May, 1653. The three factors employed there had reached the latter place towards the close of the year, and, on their books being examined, it was found that they were indebted to the Company over 36,000 rupees, having, it would seem, spent that money in their own private speculations (p. 216). Some months later, the Surat Council decided to close the Agra factory as well (p. 281); also, apparently, the establishments at Ahmadābād and Broach.

The *Eagle* was at last dispatched by the Company to Surat in February, 1654, with a cargo valued at about 4,850*l.* She reached Goa on July 22, and after some delay there proceeded to Swally, arriving at the end of October. A month previous, the *Dove* and the *Welcome* had been got out of the river; and, encouraged by rumours of peace with the Dutch, the President and Council dispatched the former to Lārībandar and Gombroon, and the latter to Rājāpur, whence she returned in company with the *Eagle*. Spiller was summoned to repair to Surat in the *Dove*, in order that he might take up the post of President in succession to Blackman, as Pearce, in spite of the Company's entreaties, had determined to go home.

The *Welcome* sailed for England towards the end of November, just as news of the conclusion of peace reached Surat from Holland. In her returned John Burnell, the late chief at Lucknow, whose liabilities to the Company had been found to amount to nearly 43,000 rupees; and with him was sent Rawdon, one of his colleagues, the other having died. Nor were these deficiencies confined to Lucknow, for, writing on Christmas Day, Andrews, one of the Agra factors, confessed to the Company that he owed them over

[1] For further particulars see *Court Minutes*, 1650–54, pp. xx–xxii.

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23,000 rupees, besides his indebtedness to merchants in Agra: notwithstanding which, he made it a grievance that the President and Council should have suspended him from employment in consequence.

A letter from Ispahān in October, 1654 (p. 294), gave intelligence of the arrival in Persia of a representative of the exiled King Charles, charged with the mission of soliciting pecuniary aid from the Persian monarch, and of then proceeding to India for a like purpose. This step seems to have been prompted by an offer received some time previously from an Armenian (see pp. 126, 131) to procure from Shāh Abbās the diversion of the English share of the Gombroon customs from the Company to their King. Charles was, as usual, in urgent need of money, and, a willing agent being found in the person of Henry Bard, Viscount Bellomont, the enterprise was at length put in hand. On his voyage from Venice to Smyrna Bellomont picked up a little stowaway named Niccolao Manucci, and it is to the memoirs of the latter, as edited by the late Mr. Irvine, that we are indebted for most of our knowledge of the embassy. On his arrival, Bellomont was received with some reserve at the Persian court, owing to his slender equipage and doubts as to his credentials; but, these having been translated and appearing to be in due form, he was feasted by the King and was then asked to proceed in advance to Ispahān, where, on His Majesty's arrival, his business would be duly considered. In the meantime, Spiller had sent a native agent to court to find out who the ambassador was and the exact nature of his business. Bellomont evidently counted upon the aid of the Dutch; but the latter were by no means willing, now that peace was concluded, to give offence to the Commonwealth Government, and they adopted a very circumspect attitude. Here we must leave the story of the embassy for the present.

One result of the disturbances at home was to embolden certain Englishmen in the East to defy the authority of the Company's Presidents. The claim of the latter to control their countrymen was based upon the charter of James I, and a further grant obtained from that monarch in 1623; but these had to a great extent lost their validity upon the establishment of the Commonwealth, and moreover, the latter document clearly related only to servants of the Company. In February, 1651, we find the President

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and Council at Surat complaining that their authority had been disregarded by Barrett and Porter, two men who had originally come out as colonists for Madagascar, and urging an application to Parliament for power to deal with such cases. The Company approached the Council of State accordingly, but were forced to be content with an exemplification, under the Great Seal, of the 1623 grant; and this of course proved of little service in asserting authority over men not in the Company's employment (p. 141). In March, 1654, Blackman and his colleagues wrote (p. 252) that certain Englishmen at Surat calling themselves 'freemen' were enticing away the Company's servants for service either with the Dutch or in the Mogul's army, adding that seven or eight had thus quitted the service within the past five months. Barrett, the chief offender, had been seized and imprisoned in the factory, preparatory to deportation to England; but the Governor, at the instigation of the Dutch, had enforced his release. They therefore again impressed upon the Company the necessity of obtaining a grant of authority over all Englishmen in the East; while two months later a further letter reported that no less than twenty-three men had been inveigled into taking service with the Mogul—doubtless for employment as gunners.

The Company, however, had matters of more importance to engross its attention. The United Joint Stock had now run its allotted five years, and the question was how to continue the trade. In August, 1654, it was decided to petition the Protector for a confirmation of the Company's charter and the prohibition of the dispatch of private ships to the East, and it was thought that, if these could be obtained, a new Joint Stock could be set on foot. There was still, however, a powerful section of the members, headed by Maurice Thomson, who, while wishing to see the Company continued, desired a radical change in its methods. They advocated the abandonment of the joint-stock system in favour of one by which the members would be left to provide their own capital, ships, and factors, the functions of the governing body being restricted to a general supervision of the operations, as in the case of the Levant and other 'regulated' traders; and a numerously signed memorial to this effect was presented in September. Among various suggestions submitted about this time was one that future

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Presidents should be officially recognized as Agents of the English Government—a course which, it was thought, would among other advantages give the necessary control over other English subjects in the East; while a further proposal was that the trade should either be managed by the State or farmed out at a yearly rent (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54, pp. 335, 337). In October a fresh petition to the same effect as that of August was presented to the Protector, who promised speedy consideration of the matter; and early in the next month the petition was referred to a committee of the Council of State. The attention of the Government was, however, fixed upon the war with Spain, and so for the present the question of the trade with the East Indies remained in abeyance. Meanwhile, licences for private vessels to ship out silver for the East were freely granted, and in December we find it stated that Maurice Thomson and his friends were dispatching no less than fourteen ships to the Indies (*ibid.*, pp. 364, 368).

One proposal made about this period deserves to be specially noted, as foreshadowing a development of much importance. It was that the Company should 'procure a nationall interest in some towne in India to make the scale of trade for those parts'. In 1649 this had been part of the scheme of the Assada adventurers (*Court Minutes*, 1644–49, pp. xxiii, xxiv); while we have already seen that the experiences of the Dutch war had made the English in India long for a fortified station on the west coast under their own control. Cromwell apparently gave some encouragement to the idea, and the Company responded by a petition that he would procure for them from the Portuguese the cession of Bassein and Bombay in India, and Mozambique in Africa (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 374). However, no effective steps were taken, and the treaty signed with the Portuguese ambassador in July, 1654, and ratified at Lisbon in May, 1656, contained no reference to the subject, though it conceded to English merchants the right to trade freely with the Portuguese possessions in the East.

On the eastern side of India, at the beginning of the period under review, the Carnatic was still being harassed by the incursions of its Muhammadan foes, and by their constant dissensions and conflicts. The forces of the King of Bījāpur had conquered the whole of the district centring in the famous fortress of Gingī,

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including the seaboard round Tegnapatam, of which Malaya was made Governor; and the Dutch promptly took advantage of this to obtain (August, 1651) a grant of trade at that and the neighbouring ports (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvii. no. 532; vol. xviii. no. 539). The unhappy Rājā of the Carnatic had taken refuge with the Nāyak of Mysore, who was at war with Bījāpur (*ibid.*, vol. xvii. no. 518). Meanwhile, to the northwards, the Nawāb Mīr Jumla, as general of the Golconda forces, was busy consolidating his position.

Both Dutch and English were anxious to keep in the good graces of the all-powerful Nawāb. The former, in the autumn of 1650, had sent an envoy with a present, which was refused because it was not accompanied by an answer to a letter which Mīr Jumla had addressed to the Governor-General at Batavia; moreover, the Nawāb was much irritated by the interference of the Dutch with his trade to Queda and Achin. The English, eager to profit by his displeasure with their rivals, sent (as narrated in the last volume) their broker to him with a present, and then, in December, 1650, dispatched Walter Littleton and the broker on a further mission to the Nawāb. They found him very resentful against the Dutch, and full of plans for monopolizing the whole of the trade in the districts under his control. For this purpose he was desirous of entering into a contract with the English Company under which they would procure all their piece-goods from his agents and share with him in the profits of voyages made to Persia and other parts. Littleton and Venkata brought back from the camp a letter to this effect from the Nawāb, addressed to the Company in London, and accompanied by some presents. These were sent to England by the *Lioness*, which sailed in January, 1651; but the Agent and Council expressed some doubt whether it would prove wise to enter into the proposed arrangement. The Company replied about a year later, avoiding any pledge to make all their purchases from the Nawāb's agents, though it was intimated that a preference would be given to them (p. 232). Apparently this letter and the present which accompanied it were taken up to the Nawāb in the summer of 1652 by Littleton and Venkata, who found him very well satisfied with both (p. 133).

We should be glad to know exactly what was happening in

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Bengal in the early part of 1651, but unfortunately our information as to the proceedings of the English factors left by the *Lioness*, when she quitted Balasore in December, 1650, is most meagre. In the instructions given to them by Captain Brookhaven (see the last volume, p. 332), they were directed to proceed to Hūglī and establish a factory in that town; after this had been done, James Bridgman, with one other Englishman, was to proceed to Rājmahāl, where Sultān Shujā, Viceroy of Bengal, was holding his court. There they would find Gabriel Boughton, the English surgeon who (as mentioned in the introduction to the 1642–45 volume) was high in the Prince's favour, and who had already (in answer to a letter from Brookhaven) promised to use his influence to obtain for his fellow-countrymen a grant of special trading privileges. Evidently these instructions were carried out, but we have only glimpses of the factors' proceedings. In the middle of February, 1651, Agent Greenhill and his Council (at Masulipatam) resolved to purchase a small vessel (the *Transport*) and send her to the Bay with some goods and a letter to Boughton, reminding him of his promises and presenting him with some scarlet broadcloth, &c.; and in a letter written about the same time to the Bengal factors (p. 47), reference is made to a 'very great present' already given to the Prince as a preliminary. An entry on p. 63 suggests that the factors had established themselves at Hūglī by at least the beginning of 1651; but this is the only indication of date that can be traced. Another entry (p. 84) informs us that some time in that year one of the *farmāns* obtained by Davidge at Delhi, freeing the English from road-dues, was forwarded from Agra to the factors at Hūglī; and it must have been either on that or on the previous grants procured from the Emperor in 1633 (see the 1634–36 volume, p. xxxv) or 1637–38 (p. xx of the 1637–41 volume) that the English based their application to Sultān Shujā for a *farmān* freeing them from payment of all customs or other dues. That the application was to some extent successful seems to be implied by a passage in a Madras letter of January 14, 1652 (p. 97), in which reference is made to the outlay of '3,000 rupees at least to procure the Princes firmand for free trade without paying custome in his dominions'; and this is confirmed by a traditional account preserved in a memorandum written in February, 1685, and entered at p. 35 of

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vol. xxx of the *Fort St. George Factory Records*.[1] This document states that Boughton, who was with Sultān Shujā at Rājmahāl when Brookhaven's letters arrived, 'forthwith sent down his servant James Price to Hugly to fetch Mr. Bridgman up to the Prince; who accordingly went up, and was presented by Mr. Boughton to the Prince, to whom Mr. Bridgman made a present of some rarities; and Mr. Boughton took that opportunity to speak to the Prince for his *neshauns* for Mr. Bridgman to trade freely without the paying of custome or any other duties. The Prince gave it, upon Mr. Boughtons request; upon which *neshaun* Mr. Bridgman settled factories at Ballasore, Hugly &c., which lasted till the United Company broke up. When the United Company broke up, there was one Mr. Paul Walgrave chief of Bengall, who went from Ballasore overland to Metchlepatam, and in the way was rob'd and lost the Princes *neshaun*, with severall *perwannas* grounded upon it.' Of this *nishān* (which must be distinguished from the one obtained by Billidge at a later date) no copy is extant. If a passage in a letter from Surat of January 18, 1654 (p. 223) is correct, the grant was only equivalent to 'a suspention of paying present customes', and a demand for three years' dues on the goods of private traders had been made, which was likely to fall upon the Company. From the later correspondence it seems clear that the Mogul officials never intended to grant a permanent exemption from customs, though they were willing to waive their demands for a time, in consideration of presents which were promised but were not forthcoming. This arrangement suited the interests of the factors, who were only concerned to escape the payment of dues on their own goods and cared little what might happen to their successors or to their employers' stock.

In April, 1651, the *Ruby* arrived at Madras from Pegu. The *Bonito*, which had been dispatched to Gombroon at the close of 1650, with Paul Waldegrave as supercargo, returned to Fort St. George on May 24; and six days later the *Aleppo Merchant*, also

[1] See my article in the *Indian Antiquary* for September, 1911, where the document is given in full, as also Thomas Bowrey's reference to Boughton's assistance in the matter. In the same article will be found a quotation from the Court Minutes of 1674, which contains the curious statement that the grant was only for 'libertie to trade, paying custom according to the King's phirmand, but was altered and made to pay noe custom according to the King's phirmand'.

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from Persia, anchored in the Roads. Both were sent on to Masulipatam, whence the latter set out on a fresh voyage to Gombroon and Surat, while the former returned to Madras in September with William Gurney and James Martin, who had arrived from Bantam in the *Dove*. Gurney had come to serve as Accountant, and Martin took over the command of the garrison from Richard Minors. In the middle of October the *Bonito* sailed for Bantam.

During 1651 there was much friction between the English at Fort St. George and the Portuguese at San Thomé. This had originated in the action of the latter in kidnapping a French Capuchin, named Ephraim de Nevers. Colonel Love's researches (*Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. i. p. 47) have shown that this friar reached Surat from Europe in 1641, intending to work in Pegu. On his way he touched at Fort St. George, where he was prevailed upon to take up his abode, in order to minister to the Catholic settlers there, in a building which he was permitted to erect in the Fort. His success roused the jealousy of the ecclesiastical authorities at San Thomé, whose jurisdiction he repudiated; and the result was that in 1649 he was seized near San Thomé and sent in irons to Goa, to be dealt with there by the Inquisition. This unwarrantable action roused great indignation at Madras, and the Agent made many representations to the Portuguese authorities. As these were disregarded, it was resolved to retaliate; and in February, 1651, the chief ecclesiastic of San Thomé was seized in like manner and confined in Fort St. George. In June, however, he managed to make his escape one dark night; and a little later came the news that Father Ephraim had been set at liberty. Negotiations were now set on foot for a reconciliation, and on December 30 an agreement was concluded between Madras and San Thomé for the mutual exchange of fugitives (pp. 79, 92, 96).

Early in July, 1651, the *Welcome* reached Fort St. George from England. After a voyage to Balasore, she took in a cargo of goods invoiced at about 9,800*l.* and departed for home in the middle of January, 1652. In a letter she carried, the Madras Agent and Council announced that, in view of the dangers threatening them, they were completing the curtain walls of Fort St. George, paying for the work out of fines levied upon the townspeople for minor

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deliquencies[1]; they also represented (p. 101) how ill-equipped they were with muskets and armour. They reported that hostilities had now broken out between the Kings of Golconda and Bījāpur, and that Mīr Jumla was reported to be surrounded by the Bījāpur troops, 'whilst the poore Jentue [Hindu], hopeing their mutuall destruction, watches oppertunity to breake of his present miserable yoke' (p. 99). There had been fighting within two days' journey of Madras, and the whole country was so unsafe that letters could not be got through to Masulipatam. A few weeks later we hear (p. 111) that an agreement had been concluded, the King of Golconda agreeing to pay a large sum to Bījāpur as compensation for the surrender of certain territory. A Dutch embassy to Golconda, under Dirck Steur, who had been specially sent from Batavia as Commissary and Envoy, succeeded, after several wearisome journeys to court and to Mīr Jumla's head-quarters, in securing a renewal of their privileges in Pulicat, &c. (p. 101, and *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. nos. 539, 542, 543).

Though we hear little or nothing of what the Bengal factors were doing on behalf of the Company, there is evidence that they were very active in their own interests. In January, 1652, they dispatched to Persia two vessels belonging to Bridgman and Boughton, and commanded by Henry Cherry, carrying private goods and freight; and further, the money for this purpose was largely borrowed on the security of the Company's funds (pp. 153, 193). Losing the monsoon, Cherry put into Goa, and there became involved in a lawsuit with one of the passengers. By making use of the Company's name, and by the aid of letters obtained from Surat on the pretext that he was acting for the Company, he got free of his difficulties and reached Gombroon on November 11. By this time the Surat Council had discovered the fraud, and had written to the Persian factors to recover from Cherry the expense to which they had been put in connexion with his affair at Goa, and to levy duties on his cargo; and these instructions were duly carried into effect. Subsequently, orders were sent to seize whatever could be found belonging to the Bengal factors, with the result that a considerable sum of money was secured, part of which, however,

[1] In answer to this the Company warned the Madras factors not to be too rigorous in the infliction of such punishments (p. 174).

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was the property of 'Boughton the chyrurgion' (p. 188). Cherry died intestate at Ispahān in September, 1653, and the factors, doing their best to get in what debts were due to him, sold the *Mayflower* (one of his vessels) for what it would fetch. These actions led to a long succession of claims against the Company. Some time before August, 1653, Boughton died in debt, and his creditors naturally looked to be satisfied out of the money in the factors' hands. Moreover, his widow (an Indian woman) married one William Pitt, who in 1657 was giving much trouble by his claims on account of his wife; while, after Pitt's death, his widow found a fresh husband in Richard Mosely, who as late as 1676 was urging the same claims on the attention of the Company's representatives. In addition, a Portuguese merchant named João Gomez de Soito, who was interested in the cargo of the *Mayflower* (p. 201), procured the imprisonment of the Hūglī factors in 1657 until a sum of money was paid him; and his son was still clamouring for further satisfaction in 1676.[1]

The *Love*, from England, commanded by John Brookhaven, reached the Coast in the summer of 1652, and sailed thence for Bengal at the beginning of August. She returned to Fort St. George at the commencement of the new year, and departed homewards on January 9, with a cargo invoiced at nearly 15,000*l.* Bridgman had come in her from the Bay, and continued his voyage to England, having apparently been succeeded in the charge of the Bengal factories by Paul Waldegrave. After a tedious voyage, the *Love* got safely into Plymouth at the end of August, 1653.

Though no reference is made to the matter in the *Court Minutes* and the letter itself is lost, it appears that in December, 1651, the Company wrote to President Baker at Bantam, directing him to transfer his head-quarters to Fort St. George. The chief reason for this move was probably the increased importance of the Coast and Bengal settlements, coinciding with a decline in the trade of Bantam and other settlements in the far East; but it may be surmised that the tension between the English and Dutch, which resulted in hostilities a few months later, had also something to do with the change. The Company may well have thought that, should war

[1] See *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. i. p. 175, where the story is given at some length.

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break out, it would be an advantage for the President to be on the Coast to look after its interests there. This change, by the way, is generally described as the elevation of the Agency of Madras to the rank of an independent Presidency; but this is not exactly correct. What really occurred was that Fort St. George became the head-quarters of the President, Bantam being meanwhile reduced to an Agency, but remaining under the control of that official. It may be noted that, during the whole period of Baker's residence at Madras, Greenhill retained the title of Agent, though his position was really only that of Second in Council.

The *Roebuck*, by which the Court's letter was sent, reached Bantam on June 26, 1652. Baker and his family embarked in her at the end of July and, accompanied by the *Bonito*, departed for Madras, where the two vessels arrived on September 1. They were both sent on to Masulipatam, returning to Fort St. George early in December. Thence the *Roebuck* was dispatched to Gombroon on the 7th of that month, to fall (as already noted) into the hands of the Dutch; while the *Bonito*, accompanied by the *Expedition*, proceeded to Pegu a few weeks later, under the charge of Henry Greenhill. The *Bonito* returned, with the *Ruby*, some time before May 15, 1653, leaving the *Expedition* behind (p. 188).

President Baker's period of office at Madras was a troubled one, owing to the Dutch war, dissensions in his Council, and bitter disputes among the townspeople, due to the rivalry of the two parties known as the Right Hand and Left Hand Castes respectively. These were groups of various traders, of which those belonging to the Right Hand Caste claimed superiority over those of the Left Hand, arrogating to themselves special privileges at marriage and other ceremonies (p. 155). Their antagonism has run throughout Madras history and, according to the latest census report, 'still faintly survives.' Each of the parties had its own streets to dwell in, and the quarrels were in the main due either to disputes over new streets in the rapidly growing town, or to attempts on the part of one or other of the castes to pass with wedding or funeral processions through the quarters of its rival. In November, 1652, as the sequel, it would seem, of a serious riot, Baker issued a declaration on the subject, defining the portions of the town which were to be peculiar to each caste, and inflicting a severe mulct on any one

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attempting to conduct a procession by a forbidden route (p. 135). This decision, however, did not settle matters; for towards the end of January the quarrel broke out again with great violence, and for a time the townsmen were quite out of hand (pp. 155, 253). These disorders, and the imminence of hostilities with the Dutch, induced Baker to complete the fort by rebuilding the slightly constructed fourth or eastward curtain (p. 156); and he also urged the strengthening of the garrison, which contained only twenty-six Englishmen, half of whom were unfit for service. A little later he constructed an outwork between the fort and the sea, for the greater protection of shipping (p. 205).

The disputes among the factors themselves were still more troublesome, as they soon resulted in placing Baker and his second, Greenhill, in open opposition, and ranging the rest of the English on one side or the other. The trouble commenced immediately after Baker's arrival, when Greenhill and Gurney charged William Winter with various frauds and misdemeanours. These were repeated to the Company in the letters sent by the *Love* in January, 1653 (Winter going home in that vessel), and in reply it was stated that the charges would be investigated at home. It is not clear, by the way, what relationship existed between William Winter and the two brothers Thomas and Edward Winter. Possibly he was their cousin.

The effects of the war between Holland and England were only indirectly felt within the limits of the Presidency. The Dutch made no attack upon the English on the eastern side of India; while further east the only loss to be recorded is that of the *Dove*,[1] which was taken by the Dutch while returning from Macassar to Bantam in July, 1653. At the same time the resultant restriction of trade created much embarrassment at Madras. It was obviously impossible to dispatch any vessel to England or Persia without great risk of her being captured, and Baker and his colleagues were at a loss how to proceed. The Company's suggestion that goods should be sent overland to help lade the *Eagle* at Goa was scouted as impossible; and in lieu thereof it was decided that the *Bonito* should take on board what goods were available

[1] Not the vessel of the same name which was sent out from England to Surat in the spring of 1653, as already mentioned.

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and carry them to Madagascar, where, it was hoped, she would be able to transfer them to the *Eagle*. To strengthen the crew of the former, the *Ruby* was sold, and her sailors were turned over to the *Bonito*. The scheme was, however, defeated by the wreck of the last-named vessel in Madras Roads, during a hurricane in December, 1653 (p. 229).

From references on pp. 199, 213 it appears that the Company, in a letter of February, 1653, now missing, assented to President Baker's return to England and intimated that, when he did so, the Coast Agency was to be put under the President at Surat. This intention, however, was not persisted in, and Fort St. George remained in its independent position.

The war in the Carnatic was continued as strenuously as ever. According to the Dutch records, the Bījāpur commander-in-chief, having mastered the important fortress of Penukonda in March, 1653, thereupon requested permission to pass through the districts held by the Golconda troops on his way to Gingī; but this was refused by Mīr Jumla, who, alarmed at the success of the Bījāpur troops, was animating the Nāyak of Mysore against them and also making overtures to the Carnatic Rājā. The latter, relying on Mīr Jumla's promises, returned to Vellore and raised a large army, hoping to drive the Bījāpuris out of the country (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xix. no. 550 (i)). The issue of all this is told in a letter from Batavia of November 7, 1654 (N.S.), which states that the Bījāpur general had, after a long siege, captured Vellore and concluded a treaty with the Rājā, by which Chandragīrī was left to the latter, with the revenues of certain districts (*ibid.*, no. 551). Meanwhile the Dutch were endeavouring to live as peaceably as possible with both contending powers. This was not easy in the case of Mīr Jumla, who (as we have seen) was much irritated by their refusal to grant passes to Indian ships desirous of trading with Ceylon, Achin, and all districts in which the Dutch were striving to establish a monopoly. The ill-advised capture of one of his own vessels which sailed under the Portuguese flag to Macassar seemed likely to bring about an actual rupture. Mīr Jumla demanded the restitution of the vessel, threatening otherwise to attack Pulicat; but his wrath was to some extent appeased by a promise to restore the prize and to grant passes to Achin and certain other places, though he refused.

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to receive a present which had been offered by the Dutch (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 550 (i)). As regards the Bījāpur ruler at Gingī, the dismissal of Malaya from his governorship of Tegnapatam and the neighbouring ports necessitated a fresh application, and Govert Crackow and Otto de Hart were sent on a mission to the Bījāpur general. He readily granted a new *farmān*, renewing the privileges as regards trade in the district under his control, and this was confirmed by his sovereign in August, 1654 (*ibid.*, nos. 551, 556–7). It is interesting to note that the Dutch at this time were negotiating with the Danes for the purchase of Tranquebar, mainly in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the Portuguese or the English. The Danes, however, though in a somewhat critical position, decided to hold out in hope of relief from Europe, though they promised to give the Dutch the first offer, should they be compelled to give up their settlement.

In September, 1654, the English factors reported a fresh development in the unstable politics of the Coast. The King of Golconda, Abdullah Qutb Shāh, had long been jealous of the power wielded by his servant, Mīr Jumla, and an open breach had now occurred between them (p. 290). The latter was suspected of an intention of making himself an independent sovereign of the territory he had conquered in the Carnatic; but he was well aware of the difficulty of standing alone, and after making overtures to the King of Bījāpur, he finally succumbed to the intrigues of Aurangzeb, who, as Viceroy of the Deccan, was eagerly watching for an opportunity to interfere. Mīr Jumla agreed to enter the service of the Mogul Emperor; but rumours of his intention so alarmed Abdullah Qutb Shāh that he sought to win back the friendship of his former minister, and the latter hesitated until the imprisonment of his family at Golconda towards the end of 1655—an act provoked by the haughty behaviour of his son—precipitated the crisis and drove Mīr Jumla into the arms of Aurangzeb, with disastrous results to the Golconda kingdom.

In May, 1654, the Dutch war being now at an end, a small ship named the *Katherine* was hired by the Company and dispatched to the Coromandel Coast. Her cargo was inconsiderable, the main purpose for which she was sent being to bring home as many as possible of the goods in hand there, with a view to the winding up

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of the United Joint Stock. As already mentioned, the Company had resolved to reduce their establishments in the East to the lowest practicable limit; and instructions had accordingly been sent out overland in September, 1653, for the dissolution of all factories under the Eastern Presidency, except Fort St. George and Masulipatam (p. 199). The factors replied in September, 1654, that for upwards of eighteen months these two had been the only stations maintained on the Coast, though Edward Winter had been permitted to remain at Vīravāsaram, on a restricted allowance, to gather in debts [1]; they could see, however, no chance of withdrawing the stock and factors from Bantam and other settlements to the Eastwards, as the Dutch were still stopping communication with those factories. Fort St. George itself had been 'reduced into a very good posture' for defence, were the garrison a better one; but the internal accommodation was very poor, and more rooms, especially for warehousing goods, were urgently needed (p. 291).

On August 4, 1654, a small vessel named the *Alum* reached Balasore from England. She was an interloper, and the Company had warned their servants to have nothing to do with her. At the end of the year she sailed for England, carrying an interesting letter from Waldegrave and a colleague, relating the troubles they had experienced from the extortion of the officials and the evil results of their predecessors' misdoings, but urging upon their employers the value of the trade and the wisdom of sending out supplies (p. 303).

All through 1654 there were bitter disputes between Baker and his colleagues, chiefly on the question of the former's attitude towards the native agents employed either in a public or private capacity. It was the practice to transact the Company's business, both for the sale and purchase of goods, through one or more responsible Indian merchants, who were remunerated by a commission. This post had been held for some years by Seshādri Chetti Nāyak and Koneri Chetti; but they got into financial difficulties, and Ivy entrusted their duties to a Brahman named Venkata. Kānappa, the brother of the latter, was Adigar, or governor and magistrate, of the native town; and so between them they wielded a great deal of power over all but the Europeans.

[1] From an entry on p. 6, it would seem that in June, 1651, Winter was renting that and two neighbouring towns from the King of Golconda on his own account.

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Naturally this authority was steadily devoted to the aggrandisement of themselves and to the injuring of Seshādri and his party, who on their side were doing their best to discredit the two Brahmans in the hope of ousting them from their posts. Greenhill, as Agent, gave some employment to Seshādri and slighted Venkata, though without actually displacing him; with the result that President Baker, soon after his arrival, found himself involved in a quarrel between his Second in Council and the Company's merchants. Venkata and his brother accused Greenhill and Gurney of various malpractices, and the two factors replied by a series of charges against them and Winter. Baker seems to have been puzzled what to do in the matter, and, after some show of investigation, contented himself for the time being with sending the papers home by the *Love* (p. 292). To Greenhill, who pressed for strong measures against the two Brahmans, he pointed out that Venkata owed the Company a large sum which he was for the present unable to pay, and that to act harshly against him would bring about his ruin and the loss of what was due; whereas, if he were maintained in his position and assisted to get in what was owing him, he would probably be able to discharge his liability to the Company. Greenhill's reply was an offer to make himself responsible for the debt if the Brahmans were handed over to him; but to this course Baker objected, as he guessed that in such case Greenhill would show small mercy towards his accusers. Thus the matter remained when Greenhill departed for Pegu early in 1653.

During his absence, an investigation took place into certain charges preferred by the Brahmans against Timmanna and Rudriga, who were the private agents of Greenhill and Gurney. These men were charged with extorting commission from those who had dealings with the Company, and Venkata and his brother did not shrink from admitting that they had themselves shared in the plunder. The result was that Timmanna and Rudriga were confined in the Fort until they had paid half the sum alleged to have been extorted, while the other half was charged against the Brahmans' account. At the same time, as complaints had been made concerning Kānappa's administration of justice, Leigh and Martin, two of the Members of the Council, were ordered to sit during alternate weeks at the Choultry to administer justice, while Kānappa was

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reduced to the position of an assessor. Thus was inaugurated the regular employment of Englishmen as Justices of the Choultry.

Greenhill on his return was much incensed by the action taken against his servant, and particularly by the more favourable treatment accorded to the two Brahmans, and he again pressed Baker to act vigorously. The latter, however, held to his milder measures until October, 1653, when, finding no appearance of money being forthcoming from the Brahmans, he confined them to the Fort, while still allowing them to transact business. This did not satisfy Greenhill, and at the beginning of March, 1654, he submitted to the President a series of charges against Venkata and his brother, and added a formal demand that they should be brought to justice. Doubtless he found his own position unsafe, in view of the serious charges brought against him, unless he could discredit his accusers; and accordingly he sought to fix on them the responsibility for the disturbances between the Right Hand and Left Hand Castes (which had of late been very violent), and in addition he declared them guilty, not only of defrauding the Company and oppressing the inhabitants, but also of intriguing with the Nawāb's officials against the English. In making these charges Greenhill did not conceal his opinion that Baker was deliberately shielding the delinquents; and the breach between the two now became complete. The other members of the Council took sides as their interests dictated—Leigh with Greenhill, and Martin with Baker; and the result was a lively series of charges and countercharges which throw a flood of light on the proceedings of the factors in general and the various ways in which the Company was defrauded, while incidentally we glean much that is valuable about the history of the settlement of Madras, and the conditions of life there.[1] On April 4, 1654, the two Brahmans formulated a long list of charges against Greenhill and his party, asserting, among other things, that a plot had been formed to displace the President. The story was not a very probable one, but it so alarmed Baker that the same evening he arrested Greenhill, Leigh, and Minors. No proof being forthcoming of any such design, the prisoners were released after a while, and the two former resumed their places in Council, Baker explaining to the

[1] Good use has been made of these and other documents in the present volume in Col. H. D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (Indian Records Series, 1913).

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Company that he could do nothing more in the matter for fear of bringing 'a confusion to your busines' (p. 294). The death of Martin at the end of June seems to have helped to compose matters (p. 286).

The dispute was reopened towards the close of the year, when the *Katherine* brought a letter from the Company, who, referring to the papers received by the *Love*, ordered an inquiry into the charges preferred by the Brahmans against Greenhill and other factors. Thereupon Baker communicated to Greenhill, for the first time, the accusations made against him in the previous April; and at the beginning of the new year Greenhill prepared a vigorous reply, in the course of which he hinted plainly that the President himself had been guilty of questionable practices. On reflection, however, he refrained from presenting this document. It was known that Baker contemplated returning to England in the *Katherine*, and Greenhill feared to delay his departure by prolonging the dispute. A sort of truce was therefore concluded between the two antagonists, and on January 20, 1655, Baker sailed for England, leaving Greenhill in charge of affairs. The two Brahmans were still in custody, owing to their inability to discharge their liabilities; but Baker warned Greenhill and his colleagues not to 'make justice a stalking horse to worke your owne revenge upon them'. Both Greenhill and Leigh sent home by the *Katherine* bitter complaints against Baker, and the former followed up this three months later by a formidable array of charges against his predecessor.

Baker, on his return to England, married again and settled at Bowhay in Devonshire, where he erected a mansion (burnt down in 1838) and was possessed of considerable property. He died October 28, 1683, in his seventy-third year, and was buried in the parish church of Dunchideock, near Exeter, which also holds the remains of Stringer Lawrence. No portrait of Baker is extant; but his Bible is still in the possession of the family. (Information from Mr. H. R. Popham Baker.)

During part of the time covered by the present volume, the French traveller Tavernier was on the Coromandel Coast, and his narrative (Ball's translation, vol. i. p. 254) supplies some interesting particulars. He left Gombroon early in May, 1652, in a junk belonging to the King of Golconda, and, after an adventurous

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voyage, reached Masulipatam on June 22.[1] His intention was to go straight to Golconda in the hope of selling some jewels to the King; but learning that His Majesty would buy nothing that had not been previously approved by Mīr Jumla, he decided to proceed to the latter's camp at Gandikota. His route lay through Madras, where he and his companion arrived on August 3, and took up their lodging with the Capuchin Fathers. They remained until the 12th, and during that period received many courtesies from Greenhill and his colleagues. Gandikota was reached on August 22, and there the travellers made friends with some European gunners employed in the Nawāb's army. After several interviews with Mīr Jumla, who promised to write to the King on his behalf, Tavernier departed early in September for Golconda, where he arrived on the 22nd. Finding the King unwilling to give the price demanded for the jewels, he left again after about a fortnight's stay and proceeded overland to Surat. Thence he made a journey to Ahmadābād, where he sold part of his stock to the Governor of the province, Shāistah Khān. Returning to Surat, he, in February 1653, set out for Golconda again, and thence went to the diamond mines. Later in the year he was back in Surat, and embarked for Persia in the Dutch fleet which, as already mentioned, defeated the English squadron off Lārībandar in January, 1654. Proceeding with the Dutch to Gombroon, he repaired to Ispahān, and after a protracted stay in Persia returned to France, apparently in the autumn of 1655.

[1] Tavernier's dates have been turned into Old Style, to keep them uniform with those in the text.

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THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

1651–54

PRESIDENT MERRY'S ACCOUNT OF THE MISCONDUCT OF ANDREW TRUMBALL (*O.C.* 2132).

On November 27, 1649, the *Falcon* reached Swally Hole, 'Mr. Trumball sickly, and the whole ships company discontent with his miscaryage and tirany over them'. *Petition from twenty-five of the crew to the President and Council.* Complain of the master's ill treatment and desire to be removed from the ship. *Letter from President Merry to Trumball, November* 30. Regrets to hear of the discontent between him and the factors. Will try to reconcile these differences, but knows not what to do about the complaints of the crew. Will come down to the Marine shortly to investigate matters. *Declaration by Daniel Elder and William Weale, November* 27. They charge Trumball with persistent misconduct during the voyage from Basra. He refused to give Weale his allotted cabin, abused and struck him, and threatened to throw him overboard; and he also beat the broker. When his coxswain quarrelled at Gombroon with Arthur Lee, and, on Elder interfering, struck the latter on the face, Trumball not only protected but promoted the offender. At Basra he sold his own goods to the detriment of the Company and in his drink threatened to fire on the town. His robbery of orchards and killing of ducks there led to many complaints and brought discredit on the English. During the voyage the factors were forced to give up to him first the great cabin and then the roundhouse, and to content themselves with wretched accommodation. The native passengers also complained of his withholding water and other necessaries from them. *Consultation at Surat by the President and Council, February* 26, 1650. Trumball, Elder, and Weale are examined. The two latter affirm the truth of their charges and offer to swear to the same. Trumball denies most of the accusations, and makes countercharges against the factors. It

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appearing to be clearly proved that he had disobeyed his instructions from the President and Council, he is judged worthy, on that account alone, of dismissal from the service, commencing from the date of the *Falcon's* arrival; though at his earnest entreaty he is promised that this shall not be made known. The remaining charges are left to be dealt with by the Company. He is next examined as to his private trade. He avers that none of his goods were put into the ship's hold and that therefore no freight is due to the Company; and although convinced that he has traded largely on his own account, they are unable to obtain absolute proof. He is, however, convicted of leaving out some of the Company's goods in order to make room for his own, and is sentenced to pay 1,900 mahmūdīs accordingly.[1] Certain claims upon the estate of Samuel Eyans, late purser of the *Falcon*, are ordered to be satisfied proportionally from his estate. *Another Consultation, April* 13. During their absence at Swally the President and Council had received complaints about the behaviour of Trumball at Surat, where, although he was lying in the factory almost bedridden, he would in his drunken fits become very offensive and abusive to the rest of the family. On returning to Surat, the President was asked by Trumball to order his removal to 'Umrow' [Umra] for the benefit of his health, and this was agreed to; but on learning that he would have to pay his own charges, he said no more about the matter. The President next told him of the accusations of disorder brought against him; whereupon he railed passionately against those who had accused him and denied everything. Last night news was brought that Trumball had got out of bed and was raving to such an extent that all who lodged near him had fled to a distance. When he returned to his room, the President had the door secured, in order that the rest might sleep in peace; and this morning at a consultation it was decided to move him to Umra or elsewhere. On acquainting him with this, he at first denied the authority of the President and Council to interfere with him, as being no longer in their service; and then he 'burst out into extreamity of passion', abusing the factors in general for misrepresenting his words and actions. Urged to name the persons, he became more moderate and complained only that 'they looked in at his window

[1] For Trumball's allegation concerning Merry's own goods aboard the *Falcon* in this voyage see *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. xxix, f. 47.

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from the yard and opposite tarrace'.[1] On examination it was found that this had occurred when Trumball 'was either madd or drunck or both, and on which occasions men are appt to bee prieing and listening'. Reproved for his evil behaviour, he denied everything and railed at every one, declaring amongst other things that, had he known he should be deprived of the *Falcon*, he would have blown her up. All this is now put upon record.[2] *Extract from the President's Journal.* On May 3, 1649 [*should be* 1650] Trumball came to the factory and had an interview with the President and Messrs. Pearce and Oxenden. 'Hee presently called for a stoole. I told him it was fitter hee imparted his buisines to us first, and then I would enorder a stoole to bee brought him in due tyme, if in his demeanour hee deserved it; in the meane tyme, if hee had any thing to speake unto myselfe and Councell, I tould him it was fitt hee delivered it standing, or otherwise hee might departe.' He then made general allegations against 'some of the family', but would not name any one in particular. Next he 'pretended a great desire to bee reconsiled unto all men, in that his mynde was oppressed with disquiet and discontent'. The President thereupon told him that he had only himself to blame; and in reply he excused his behaviour on the ground of illness. In further conversation it appeared that his wish was 'that all offences might bee silenced, and noe more spoken or written of it'; to which the President answered that this was impossible, as he had already acquainted the Company with Trumball's offences, but that, if he behaved properly, his desire 'to come to our assemblies on Sundaies, and to comunicate with us at the tyme of selebration, should not bee denyed him'. 'At last, having weared himselfe and mee, with many impertinances more then matter, hee (I cannot say tooke leave but) parted away in the like sullen and peremtory manner as hee came.' *The relation of John Anthony, April* 14, 1650. Testifies to Trumball's abuse of the President and Council for not permitting him to go home; he also declared that Merry had deluded him with a promise that he should have his ship again; and he threatened to complain to the Company. Has seen

[1] See the view of the factory given in the 1634–36 volume. From another portion of the document in the text, we learn that Pearce's apartment was next to Trumball's and on the same floor, and that the President's lodgings were on the floor above.

[2] Signed by Merry, Pearce, and Oxenden, with a separate attestation by the Rev. William Isaacson.

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Trumball sitting in his chamber drunk, 'more like a beast than a man', half naked, with a bottle between his legs. He kept a drawn sword under his cot, until the deponent took it away; and, on being told that the President, if he knew of this, would certainly 'unsword' him, replied that he cared nothing for him. *The relation of William Lovell.* Trumball, being (as he pretended) 'impotent in his feete', was excused from coming to prayer and meals. Narrates instances of his drunken fury and misbehaviour. *The relation of Walter Gollofer.* Deposes to Trumball's constant swearing and 'desperate expressions'. *The relation of Thomas Cook, April* 15, 1650. Trumball declared that the President had promised to reinstate him; and on being reminded that the crew had refused to sail with him, he said they ought to be forced to do so. Moreover, he averred that on his return to England, he should be 'heard as well as the best of them'. *The relation of Thomas Cogan, April* 15, 1650. Listening at Trumball's window, he heard him say: 'A pox of God confound old Tom and all his abhord Councell,' with other similar expressions. Gives instances of his filthy habits and rudeness. *The relation of John Naylor, April* 18, 1650. Testifies to the same effect as the foregoing. *The relation of Henry Young, April* 20, 1650. Has seen Trumball lying in his chamber, half naked, with a bottle of liquor by him, and has heard 'fearefull oathes to proceede from him'. *The narrative continued.* On June 13, 1650, Trumball brought the President a letter calling attention to certain allegations made by the former brokers at Broach against their successor, and desiring that these charges should be investigated. The President, after summoning Messrs. Pearce and Oxenden, demanded from Trumball the reason of his interference in the affair, which (he added) was being duly looked into. To this he made little answer, except that he had been importuned by the said brokers to take action, though he 'had beaten them away three or four tymes from his house' (this was untrue, for he had both countenanced and received gifts from them); after which he departed. By some factors, sent after him with a message, he returned uncivil and scurrilous answers, and finally sent an impertinent letter. It was at first decided to fetch him by force, but, on certain Banyans interceding for him, Messrs. Hammersly and Young were sent to warn him to meddle no further in the business; to which he made a 'haughtie and contumacious reply', as will be

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seen from the depositions (given) of the factors who took the various messages. Shortly after, however, Trumball sent two papers (entered) regarding the charge against the Broach broker. To this a reply (also entered) was returned by the President and Council on June 14, desiring him to interfere no further in this matter, forbidding him to come to the English house to meals on Sundays, threatening stronger measures if he did not mend his behaviour, and demanding payment of what was due from him to the Company. On the 24th [June] 'Vesrage Deingee', the chief accuser of the Broach broker, visited the President, who explained to him the reasons why the charges had not been investigated, one of which was that he had not fulfilled his undertaking to bind himself to pay 10,000 mahmūdīs should he fail to prove his allegations. This undertaking he at last gave three days later. On July 8 Goodyear was sent to Trumball to know what had become of some lead put into the *Falcon*; to which he replied that he was the master, not the merchant, of the ship and would give no account of the goods in her. On October 17 Trumball, hearing that search was being made in the town for his brother Thomas (who had absconded for fear of being punished for getting drunk and abusing one of the mates of the *Falcon*), sent a peremptory letter (entered), demanding that his brother should be allowed to return to England. The latter afterwards came to the factory and was forgiven, though his request to be reinstated in the *Falcon* was refused; he said nothing about going home, or this would have been readily granted. On December 13 Andrew Trumball wrote a humble letter (entered) to the President and Council, desiring to be granted a passage to England; and to this Merry returned a message, promising to assist him herein. (*Copy.* 30¾ *pp. Damaged.*)

THE VOYAGE OF THE *BONITO* FROM FORT ST. GEORGE TO GOMBROON AND BACK (*Brit. Mus. Sloane MS.* 3231, f. 23).[1]

1650, *December* 28. Sailed. 1651, *January* 9. Rounded Ceylon. *January* 20. Passed Quilon. *January* 23. Put into Cochin to procure water and provisions. *January* 24. Sailed. *January* 27. Saw

[1] A journal kept by the purser, Charles Wylde. The first portion was given in the 1646–50 volume (p. 272).

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Cannanore. 'One league to the northward is Burgow,[1] the cheife place where the Malabar men of warr keepe their randavous. From the Governour of this place they have protection.' *January* 31. Overhauled a junk; but, finding that she was from Bengal and had a pass from William Netlam (though only valid to the end of 1650), they dismissed her untouched. *February* 10. Were off Goa. *March* 5. Saw the Persian shore, near Jask. *March* 11. Anchored in Gombroon Road, where they found the *Falcon* (under Roger Griffin) and the *Assada Merchant* (under Robert Thomson), besides two Dutch ships, a junk from Masulipatam and another from Hūglī, the latter being commanded by John May, 'who came out mate with Capt. Brookhaven'. *March* 13. The *Falcon* sailed for Surat, followed on the 16th by one of the Dutch vessels. *April* 16. The *Bonito* sailed. *April* 26. George Cormett, the master, died. *May* 13. Passed through 'the Eight Degree Channell betweene the Maldiva Islands and Mallabar Islands'. *May* 18. Saw Ceylon. *May* 22. Passed Tranquebar. *May* 24. Anchored at Fort St. George. *May* 30. The *Aleppo Merchant* arrived from Persia under Thomas Rickman. *May* 31. The *Bonito* sailed for Masulipatam. *June* 3. Arrived there. *June* 5. 'Mr. Edward Winter came aboard, who is Governour of Verasherone [Vīravāsaram] and two townes more for the King of Gulcandah and Cheife for the Honourable Company.' *June* 9. News came that the *Dove* was to the north of Narsapur in great distress, with William Gurney on board as merchant and a cargo worth 30,000 rials. *July* 6. The *Aleppo Merchant* sailed for Gombroon. *July* 18. The *Welcome* frigate arrived under Matthew Wood, 'haveing binn at Assada and left hir passingers at Fort St. George, by reason they found noe entertainement at Assada'. *August* 12. The Dutch admiral arrived from Pulicat. *September* 2. Three more Dutch ships came into the road. 'The Governour and Dutch being at diffrance, they would not lett them have laskars to goe of with theire boats but were faine to man them themselves.' *September* 6. 'The junck *Ruby*, Thomas Bland master, and Fransi[s]co Vera of

[1] Cf. p. 28 of the 1642–45 volume. If the location here given is correct, the place was probably at the mouth of the Baliapatam River. Otherwise, one would have identified it with Badagara, a little to the south of Mahé. Hamilton (*New Account*, vol. i, p. 301) gives an account of the latter place, calling it 'Burgara', and says that its ruler 'and his predecessors have been Lords of the Seas, time out of mind; and all trading vessels between Cape Comerin and Damaan were obliged to carry his passes'.

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Macasser,[1] in a Januwes[2] ship which was bought of the Dutch,' came into the road. *September* 12. Messrs Yardley, Winter, Chamber, and (Thomas) Blackstone came down to 'the Barr towne' to take leave. The *Bonito* carried certain passengers who had arrived from Bantam in the *Dove*, including William Gurney and Capt. Martin.[3] Sailed that afternoon. *September* 18. Anchored off Fort St. George at midnight; 'being a light moon, soe that we had sight of the Agents house, by reason it was whiter then the Fort, it standing in the middle of the castle'. Gurney, Capt. Minors [Martin ?], and Wylde went ashore and were saluted by seven guns and a volley of small shot. *October* 14. Agent Greenhill came on board, with Gurney and Martin ('captain of the souldiers'); also Robert Doughty, a merchant proceeding to Bantam. Sailed for that port.[4] (29½ *pp.*)

RICHARD DAVIDGE AT DELHI TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JANUARY 4, 1651 (*O.C.* 2196).

Wrote last on December 14, since when he has received theirs of the 4th idem, to which he now replies. Regrets to find them displeased with some expressions he used in a former letter, and disclaims any intention of giving offence, though he admits that he was annoyed to learn that the damage sustained by the wetting of the goods on their way down had been charged to his account and that he was blamed 'for receiveinge of the firmane for Surratt in that forme as it is written', whereas they are many who can testify how boldly and

[1] Francisco Vera de Figueiredo, a Portuguese who was at this time trading on his own account between the Coromandel coast and Macassar, and was in much favour with the king of the latter place. There are many references to him in the Dutch records.

[2] Genoese: see the previous volume, p. 249.

[3] James Martin, who had been sent out from England in the spring of 1650 to command the Fort St. George garrison (Love's *Vestiges*, vol. i, p. 109).

[4] The rest of the volume is occupied by accounts of (1) the voyage of the *Bonito* to Bantam, where she arrived in the middle of December, and (2) Wylde's return to England from thence in the *Anne*, commanded by Richard Swan, and carrying the ex-President, Thomas Peniston. She sailed January 23, 1652, and reached St. Helena on April 27, finding there the *Eagle*, *Aleppo Merchant*, *Welcome*, and *Recovery*, besides some Dutch ships. They sailed together on May 6, proceeding first to Ascension for turtles. On July 2 Peniston died, and was buried two days later under a salute of ten guns. The Land's End was sighted on the 27th, and on the 28th a Commonwealth fleet under Sir George Ascue met them and escorted them into Plymouth, which was reached the following day.

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repeatedly he protested to Sadullah Khān on the subject. A further cause of vexation to him is the expense caused by 'this court imployment' in the matter of apparel, towards which his 20*l.* per annum goes but a little way. 'I assure you that I have beene at more then ten times the charge; and yett nothinge but necessary to mainetayne the reputation of the Honourable Companie in the quallity I am in.' Trusts therefore that some allowance will be made towards his expenses. As regards the business of Muizz-ul-Mulk, at the instance of Fazl Khān Davidge has accepted 10,000 rupees in full settlement. On this amount one per cent. was lost by exchange between this place and Agra, besides the 585 rupees abated from the original claim; on the other hand the cost of remitting a similar sum from Surat to Agra has been saved. Hopes that this settlement will be approved, 'for heereby a waye is opened to come of from this court imployment with some sattisfaction'. Sadullah Khān has promised to procure a *farmān* according to the tenor of the petition from Surat, 'he beinge unwillinge to give his owne perwanna, which yett doubtlesse would be effectuall enough and take place against that clause of the firmane you except against'. Will get the *farmān* if possible, and if not will content himself with a *parwāna*. 'It is the wonder of all the court how I could gett sattisfaction from Mazell Mulke, and gett lisence to inforce it, he beinge indebted many lacks of rupees unto the Kinge and allsoe fallen into disgrace; from which he hopes to recover himselfe, the Kinge haveinge suspended the takeinge from him the goverment of Cambaya untill he heares news from Guirate Ckaun [Ghairat Khān], Governor of Ahm[adaba]d, whoe is appointed by the Kinge to take information of Mazell Mulkes behaviour dureinge his aboade in those parts and of the vallew of the purgonah [*pargana*] of Cambayah.' Most men think that Muizz-ul-Mulk intended to cheat the Company; and the recovery of the money will be a useful warning to others. Jafar Khān has renewed his orders for restitution of the plundered goods, but nothing has yet been obtained. As regards the recovery from Rājā Chhatarsāl, the only way is to send a man to his country 'to receive somethinge every harvest, which falls out twice a year'. This course Davidge intends to follow, though, had the Rājā been at court, some other remedy would have been tried. Hopes to leave the court as soon as either the *farmān* or the *parwāna* is obtained. Little or no

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demand for broadcloth. The King is already supplied and there are no other buyers; 'besides, within this two months the court is likely to remove to Kishmeere'. The market has been cloyed by Armenians with bad cloth brought from Aleppo. The bills of exchange from Surat for 50,000 rupees have reached Agra and have been accepted. At the time of Peter Miller's death about a month's salary was due to him; but nothing could be recovered. The same happened in the case of 'the Dutch whoe dyed before him'. The indigo investment is finished, there being only 100 bales procurable at Biāna and about 50 at Khurja, of which latter the Dutch may want half. The Hindaun merchants refuse to take less than 47 rupees per maund; so nothing is likely to be done there, and Davidge intends to direct Andrews and Rawdon to return to Agra, as soon as the latter gets back from 'Lavally' [Lawālī: *see the previous volume*, p. 336], whither he has been sent, accompanied by Dhanjī, with the *parwāna* from the Prince's *Dīwān*[1] for the recovery of waydues. Agrees in the probability that, as regards these payments, 'our house servants may playe the villans and the cammell men assist them because they were not imployed for adowayahs' [*see the previous volume*, p. 59]; begs therefore that they may be strictly examined at Surat, 'for they are to hard for us heere'. Jesson's letter will show that the *farmān* has proved effectual in 'those parts of Pooroob' [*see the previous volume*, p. 302]. Haqīqat Khān's *parwāna* to Mīr Sikandar, Amīn of Lucknow, together with other *parwānas* and the assistance of the new Faujdār, has put the Company's affairs there into a good posture, and the only trouble outstanding is the imprisonment of one of the factory servants. When he learns the result of Rawdon's journey, Davidge will decide as to the advisability of employing 'adowayahs' in future. Regrets that the caravans have been so long on the way and trusts they have now arrived. The samples of coral were left with Andrews at Biāna, but he has now been directed to send them to Agra to be shown to merchants there. The orders for the enlargement of the cloth investment were at once transmitted to Lucknow. Burnell writes from 'Nygome'[2] that 'mercoolls' are now at 28 and 29 rupees per corge

[1] In a later letter he is called 'Raw Barramull', i. e. Rao Bhairo Mal. The Prince is Dārā Shikoh.

[2] This may be Nowagaon, in Hardoī district, on the road running from Kanauj to Lucknow.

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(eight rupees higher than last year), 'by reason of the dearth of corne,[1] dearenesse of cotten, and scarcytie of pice'. In view of the recent orders from Surat not to exceed last year's prices he has been directed to desist from further purchases, and to proceed to Lucknow to help Jesson. A letter just received from Rawdon at Biāna reports that his journey has not been attended with much success. At 'Mogull Seroye'[2] he managed to recover part of what had been paid as 'radarres'[3] and was promised that none should be demanded in future; 'yett at Lavally, the Princes jagueere, he received but course entertaynement from the Governour of that place, whoe not onely peremptoryly refused to obey the Princes Duans perwanna, but put him and Donge, who accompanied him, in danger of their lives'. Intends to complain vigorously to the Prince's *Dīwān* of this affront. 'The 2d currant heere arrived the Prince Oran Zeab, beinge sent for by the Kinge for to contract and celeabrate a marriage betwixt his daughter and the eldest Prince his eldest sonne.[4] The said Oran Zeab (as it is reported) doth endeavour to make a sea port 40 course to the north east of Larrebunder and, to invite merchants thither, hath given out that he will remitt all customes.[5] Wheither the said port be accessable for our shippeinge, or wheather the report be true, I cannot yett be justly informed, but hope to be before my departure hence. Soe that if the eldest Prince takes noe

[1] See p. 322 of the last volume.

[2] Mughalkasarāī: see the 1642–45 volume, p. 304.

[3] Transit dues (*rāhdārī*).

[4] No such marriage took place. Professor Jadunath Sarkar informs me, however, that 'the later Persian and Urdu lives of Zeb-un-nissa (Aurangzeb's eldest daughter), drawn up from current traditions, mention that she was betrothed to Sulaimān Shukoh, the eldest son of Dārā Shukoh; but the court annalists are silent, probably because the match was broken off by reason of the acute jealousy between the two brothers'.

[5] Professor Sarkar, in his *History of Aurangzib* (vol. i, p. 124), says that, finding the trade of Tatta affected by the silting up of the river, the Prince 'opened a new port at the mouth of the Indus, and built there a fort and dock to give it security and usefulness. But it took time for the new harbour to become known to mariners, and for some months the only ship that used it was a vessel belonging to the Prince. The Emperor excused the duty on merchandise, in order to attract trade to it.'

Professor Sarkar informs me that his authority does not give the name of the port or its exact position. Spiller's letter of March 31, 1652 (*infra*), calls it 'Cuckerhallah', which suggests that it was situated in the district of Chakarhala, part of which now forms the Kakrāla subdivision of the Ghorābāri pargana. Hence Professor Sarkar is inclined to regard Shāhbandar as the place indicated; but Aurangabandar (to the north-west of Shāhbandar) seems more likely. In any case the statement in the text that the new port was north-east of Lārībandar must be a mistake.

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better care to have his word kept and his neshanes regarded, it will be some revenge to attempt, or at leastwise give out, the leaveinge his bunder [*bandar*, port].[1] I presume if I intimate soe much to his Duan in some hidden expressions, it will not want your approbation.' Had written thus far last night. This morning he visited the Prince's *Dīwān* and made his complaint; whereupon another *parwāna* was written and dispatched to 'Lavally', threatening the Governor with dismissal if he did not give immediate satisfaction. Haqīqat Khān having at last given his *parwāna* for Lucknow, 'I am bold to desire you in his behalfe (or rather in the Beagums[2]) to procure some oyles of nuttmegg, cloves, and mace, of which three sorts the Beagum is very desierous, and was well pleased with a small quantity of oyle of cloves, which I procured from a friend and gave it her'. (4½ *pp. Received at Surat January* 29.)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *EXPEDITION* [AT SWALLY] BY PRESIDENT MERRY, GEORGE OXENDEN, THOMAS DAY, BENJAMIN PETERS, JOHN SWANLEY, ROBERT THOMSON, THOMAS THOMPSON, AND JOHN LINORY [LINSEY?], JANUARY 6, 1651 (*O.C.* 2197).

Richard Pinchbeck, who commanded the *Expedition* from Rājāpur in consequence of the death of her master, having complained that he had been accused by Thomas Daniell, sailmaker, of conspiring to run away with the ship, the charge is now examined. Daniell denies having made the accusation, but this is proved by the evidence of John Swanley (the present master) and John Arton, surgeon. Daniell is therefore sentenced to be ducked three times from the yardarm of the *Expedition* and then to be left in the slings for half an hour; after which the punishment is to be repeated on board the *Assada Merchant*. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD ABOARD THE *EXPEDITION* BY MESSRS. MERRY, OXENDEN, DAY, AND PETERS, JANUARY 6, 1651 (*O.C.* 2198).

In consequence of rumours that the *Expedition* is not fit for her

[1] Although Aurangzeb was Governor of Sind, the revenues of Lārībandar accrued to Dārā (see the previous volume, p. 321).

[2] The Princess Jahānārā: see p. 219 of the previous volume.

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proposed voyage, a survey has been ordered, and report is now made that she requires only to be caulked. It is therefore decided to allow her to proceed. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

WALTER LITTLETON AND VENKATA BRAHMAN[1] AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 17, 1651 (*O.C.* 2199).

Having been employed by the Agent on a mission to the 'Naubob', they think it convenient and necessary to declare something concerning his power in this country, his trade, &c. 'The whole kingdome of Gulcundah is governed by him, of whome the people stand in feare and subjection unto as to the King himselfe.[2] The reveneues that hee yearly brings the King in amounts unto twentye hundred thousand pegodaes. Alsoe he hath conquored and subjugated the major parte of the kindome of the Carnatta and is in election of all in a short tyme under his goverment, it being the onely country you trade in for matter of all sortes of cloth. There is allsoe bezar, dyamonds, yron, steele, and saltpeter, of which he tould us he could make and procure a great quantitie annually. The revenew that he hath taken from the Jentue in the aforesayd countrye is to the somme of fortie hundred thousand pegodaes per annum. Hee hath of his proper owne foure thousand horse, three hundred elophants, foure or five hundred cammels, and tenn thousand oxen, which transporteth his goods up into severall countryes, as Gulcundah, Vizapore [Bijāpur], and into dyvers partes of the Great Maguls country, with whome hee is very much in favoure, the Great Magull himselfe esteeming and respecting him as a very neer man unto him; in all which places he hath allwaies his factors and merchants. Concerning forran negotiation, hee hath trade to Pegue, Tenassaree, Acheen, Rackan [Arakan], Persia, Bengalla, Moka, Peruck, Maldeevaes, and Macassar. Hee hath tenn vessells of his owne, and intends to augment them, makeing much preparatyon for building of more. We weare courtiously received when wee went to visite him, and cannot perceave otherwayes by all cyrcumstance then that hee beares a reall affection to the English; therefore desyres to bee united with your honnorable Soeciety, not onely for any short tyme, for hee exprest himself soe

[1] He signs in Telugu characters 'Venkariya Yamusshinadinija'.

[2] For an account of Mīr Jumla's wealth and position at this time see Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, vol. i, p. 216.

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fully nobley that this league of freindship should be continued by his children after his discease. Nor can wee conceive or beleive that hee hath any reach or circumventing intention, but on the contrary to make your busines in this country a florishing busines, freely profering to assist you upon any needfull occasion with 50 or 60,000 pegodaes, without looking for any recompence more then love and amitie.' He was formerly well-disposed towards the Dutch, but now complains of some affronts received from them, particularly the absence of any reply to a letter which, at the solicitation of the Governor of Pulicat, he wrote to the Governor-General at Batavia. No notice was taken of it for three years, and then a present was sent without a letter; and this he considers a great slight. Moreover, he heard that the Governor of Pulicat had 'given out some boasting and insolent words, that this country could easily bee taken by them'; and he is now highly displeased with the Dutch and has declared that they shall not be permitted to trade within his jurisdiction. This is one reason why he desires to join with the English, that they may enjoy the whole trade. As regards the Dutch, 'hee tould us he very well perceived abundance of pride and infidelitie in them, and how they did aime and make accompt to gett the whole trade of India into theire hands onely, by reason the Danes are quite blowne up and the Portugease in a very lowe condition, and for the English they could soon cause them to desert the trade here by overbuying them and underselling them. But hee will disapoynt them of theire intentions if you bee pleased to condiscend to what hee hath specified unto you in his letter'.[1] Urge that an agreement with the Nawāb will be very advantageous to the Company's trade here. (2¾ *pp.* *Received July* 25.)

HENRY GREENHILL AND ROBERT DOUGHTY AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 18, 1651 (*O.C.* 2200).[2]

The *Lioness* arrived here on August 22 last, followed five days later by the *Bonito*, which had been delayed by calling at Johanna to give notice about Assada. They brought the Company's letter

[1] This letter is not extant. In the following December the Court ordered a reply to be drawn up and resolved to spend 100*l.* on a present to accompany it (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 142).

[2] There is a copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*. The letter has been printed in part in *The Diary of William Hedges*, vol. iii, p. 186.

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of February 13, 1650, intimating an intention to prosecute the Coast and Bay trade and to keep the factories supplied with 'a competent stock beforehand'. This is indeed the only way to make the trade flourish. Have previously explained the necessity of keeping Netlam in the Bay after the departure of the *Bonito*. He received from Pegu nearly 6,000 rupees in bills of exchange brought by Richard Knipe the ensuing April; but it was so long before the money was realized that only about a half was invested before the *Greyhound* returned; the rest (after paying charges) was sent to Bantam in the *Seaflower* last January. Promise obedience to the orders regarding superfluous factories and merchants and the non-repair of decayed ships; and will be as frugal as possible in other expenses. As regards lending pilots to the Moors, this favour cannot be denied to the King or the Nawāb, but it is very seldom granted to any others. Wallis proceeded to Bantam in the *Seaflower*. An account of the voyage of the *Endeavour* to Pegu was sent home last year by the *Greyhound*; while the Company have doubtless received from Surat particulars of the profits made. Concerning the voyage 'now in agitation' something will be said later. 'And for the other named places on that coast betweene Ganges and the Streights of Mallacca (commonly called India Extra Gangem), they are still frequented by the Dutch and Moores, which should argue the returnes proffittable; yet beleeve not as in former times, because the marketts are everywhere overlayd or the people soe overborne by the Dutch that, unless your trade bee strongly both supported from Europe and assisted by the natives of these parts (who out of hatred to the Dutch would subscribe to any reasonable condicions), it will runne as an assured danger by their insolency as the proffitt can bee expected certaine.' In any case there can be no certainty in such adventures, exposed as they are to many risks. According to order they sent Mr. Isaacson to Surat, and in his place received from thence Mr. Robert Winchester, who has been here nearly three-quarters of a year and has proved so satisfactory that they desire his permanent appointment and the allowance of the wonted stipend, no contract having yet been made with him. Have heard from Surat that all their 'grezio' coral is sold, though at lower prices than the present value at this place; as, however, there is still a stock on hand at that

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place of the inferior kinds, application has been made for a few chests, to try the markets here. Note the permission given for the stay of Edward Winter, who is now chief at Vīravāsaram; but regard his salary of 6*s.* 8*d.* per mensem as utterly disproportionate to his employment, which well deserves 50*l.* per annum. Such an allowance would be much more suitable to him than to Netlam, though they will not grudge the latter his good fortune. Others might be mentioned whose salaries are equally inadequate, such as Martin Bradgate, chief in Pegu at 20*l.* per annum, and Thomas Chamber, second at Masulipatam with 24*l.*; but they trust that the Company will make this up to them at the end of their service. The Company say that more profit would have been made on the *Bonito's* cargo had not the market been forestalled by private traders; and they impute this damage to the neglect of the factors here in not searching the ship and sending advice of such private trade. Allege in reply that these goods were brought from the Bay and stowed out of sight at the bottom of the hold; and that in the week she remained here it was impossible for them, busy as they were, to rummage her lading for such a purpose. The same holds good of other ships, as they all remain here a very short time.[1] Robinson died in May, 1649, as already advised. Note the information given concerning the sale of Coromandel and Bengal goods in England and the directions for further supplies, steps for the provision of which have been duly taken. The Company say that Madras longcloth is thin and slight, yet costs as much as that of Masulipatam. The former criticism is true, but the latter is only so in appearance. In their accounts the old pagoda is rated at 10*s.* and the new at 8*s.*, making 125 of the new equal to 100 of the old; whereas the ordinary rate of exchange is over 130 and sometimes (as at present) 132½ of the former per 100 of the latter. The difference of 4 or 5 per cent. is equivalent to sixpence on every piece of longcloth. The same is evident in the sale of gold and silver, which produce here so much more per cent. than in the parts round Masulipatam. And as the Company may suppose that the

[1] How hollow was this pretence of ignorance is shown by the series of extracts from private letters sent home in the *Lioness* entered in the Company's 'Black Book' (now *Home Series, Miscellaneous*, vol. xxix). These give (ff. 38–41) details of consignments by Greenhill, Doughty, and others on private account and directions for sending out other goods for the same purpose.

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Dutch buy more cheaply than the English, it may be well to explain that the former rate the old pagoda only at four guilders and four stivers. 'Some of us can well remember when the same pagoda was valued in our owne bookes but at 8*s.* 4*d.*' Note that the stock consigned to this place by the United Joint Stock in the *Bonito* and *Lioness* amounts to 21,348*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.* The goods have come safely to hand, except for some leakage in the quicksilver. The six factors intended for these parts—John Leigh, Robert Doughty, Paul Waldegrave, Edward Stephens, Thomas Symonds, and William Johnson[1]—have duly arrived; while of the three appointed to proceed in the *Lioness* to Hūglī, Robert Spavin[2] died during the voyage but James Bridgman and William Fairfax are in good health. The late arrival of the ships made it impossible to return both vessels to England this year; and so by a consultation of August 27 it was decided to provide only for the lading of the *Lioness* and to send the *Bonito* on a voyage to Gombroon. The former was accordingly dispatched to Balasore on August 28, with a stock of 7,336*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* Particulars of the stock reserved here, and of that sent to Masulipatam; the factors at that place were further authorized to draw upon Surat for 3,000*l.*, as permitted by the Company. The management of the Bay investment was committed to Capt. Brookhaven, assisted by Bridgman and Stephens (who was thought more suitable than Fairfax). In addition, Netlam, at his own request, was sent back to Balasore, where it is hoped he will deserve his wages. As, however, Brookhaven might not put too much confidence in him, and the other two had no experience in those parts, the Captain was directed to seek the advice and assistance of Richard Potter, who served formerly in the voyage of the *Endeavour* to Pegu and was given a gratuity of 100*l.* for his good service. It being understood that he was somewhere about Pipplī or Balasore, a letter was written to him by the Agent, desiring him to help Brookhaven. And whereas the Company had ordered that the *Lioness* should go up the Ganges to Hūglī, yet, since that passage was believed to be full of danger, the question

[1] For their engagement see *Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 5. A note on Waldegrave's previous history will be found at p. 327 of the 1644-49 volume of that series.

[2] In a letter from Charles Wylde entered in the 'Black Book' (see note above) it is stated that Brookhaven and his colleagues kept in their own hands Spavin's estate (amounting to 1,500*l.*) and used it for their private trade.

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was considered in consultation, when it was unanimously decided that she should not venture beyond Balasore Road; 'but for the buying and bringing away of the goods, or setling a factory at Hughly, with acquisition of the Princes firmand for free trade was wholly refferd to the said Captains discretion.' Of the new factors, Leigh, Waldegrave, and Symonds have been assigned to Masulipatam, 'with order once more to sett afoote the long deserted factory of Pettipolee, where your howse is almost ruind for want of a litle timely reparations'; the remaining three—Doughty, Fairfax, and Johnson—are retained here. According to order, the remains of the Fourth Joint Stock at all the subordinate factories, together with the house, movables, and stores at Fort St. George, have been valued and turned over to the United Joint Stock, as shown in the papers accompanying. With regard to the stock of goods here, that was made over in return for a sum of ready money, which was urgently needed to pay a debt due at Pulicat by the Fourth Joint Stock; and it is not possible to close the account until the expected ship arrives from Bantam and the vessel now at Pegu returns. A few debts have also to be gathered in, though they are mostly of old standing and not likely to be recovered. At Masulipatam they have had to write off nearly 13,000 old pagodas as desperate; while in Bengal a sum of 5,400 rupees in old houses, stores, and bad debts has been reduced to 111½ rupees. Thank the Company for the chest of chirurgery and for the surgeon, Edward Whiting. Nathaniel Lumly died October 7, 1650, without making a will; or particulars of his estate. Edmund Cannon, who came out with him in the *Dolphin* as his servant or apprentice, returns in this ship. So does John Gurney, who has been very industrious in the Company's service. For Jeremy Root, 'hee is at present with the Nabob of Gulcandah, who would not willingly part with him', and as he does them some good offices, it would be prejudicial to the Company's interests to insist on his recall. They have not of late years had any superfluous factors, and 'it more concernes your service to have two to spare then want one'. However, as Fairfax desires to go home, 'his constitution not well agreeing with India', they have agreed to his return in this ship. Disposal of certain chests of rials. Have warned those now going home against pestering the vessel with private trade. The Com-

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pany's letters for Surat and the 'Portugalls' for San Thomé were duly forwarded; 'which last place hath lately suffred much from the Nabob, that by his officers seized upon all their grounds and gardens without the citty and converted the proffitt to his owne use,[1] untill two daies since they were restor'd, except a church revenue of the Padree Governors, valued about 2,000 r[ial]s per annum, which (tis thought) hee will never bee induced to part with, but retaine as a fine for their offence, being only an affront offred to the Jentue Pago[de][2] by the Padrees denying him a passage according to former customes before one of their churches without the citty; wherby you may judge of the lion by his paw, and plainely discerne what small hopes and how much dainger wee have of converting these people, that are not like the naked and brute Americans but a most subtle and pollitique nation, who are so zealous in their religions, or rather superstitions, that even amongst their owne differing casts is grounded an irreconciliable hatred which often produceth very bloody effects. And for your owne people, wee have often informed you that they are for the most part the refuse of ships, such whome neither good example, instruction, or correction can reduce to civill conformity; yet is our whole garrison so inconsiderable for number of souldiers (as per list appeares) that wee know not how to spare any (though never so badd) untill wee know where or from whence to bee supplied. Your Worshipps only can cure this disease, by sending out better quallified and more regular persons, listed in England purposely for this employment and not to bee accounted for any part of the ships company in which they take passage, but to bee directly consigned hither for the service of the Fort.' Having thus answered the Company's letter, they will proceed to narrate what has happened on this Coast since the departure of the *Greyhound*. They promised then to write again by way of Surat, and this was done; but 'our lazy pattamars' spent two months in the journey and did not arrive at Surat until a few days after the dispatch of the last ship for Persia. In that letter they advised the departure of the *Seaflower* for Bantam and gave particulars of her lading. On March 7 [1650], the pinnace *Dove*

[1] See *Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. xvii, no. 530.

[2] The reference is evidently to a Hindu god which was being taken in procession through the neighbourhood.

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returned from Pegu with a cargo of 5,159 rials 57*d.* in 'gance [*ganza* or bell-metal], rice, and Martavans' [Martaban jars], which were dispatched to Petapoli with orders to the Masulipatam factors to put aboard there such goods as they had ready for Bantam and return the vessel at once, without taking her round to Masulipatam, in order that she might save the monsoon. They were thus enabled to send her away from this place on May 24, leaving themselves so bare of means that, had not the Dutch Governor of Pulicat lent them 4,000 pagodas, they could hardly have subsisted until the arrival of the ships from England. 'The last newes wee had from Pegu was that they had beaten back their invadeing neighbours[1] and the countrey like to bee settled in a peacfull condition; also that marketts proved good for us this yeare, in respect the Dutches investment was much damnified and the Nabobs utterly cast away.' This encouraged them to provide a small investment 'to uphold the trade' until the Company's intentions were known. Knowing, however, that the *Dove* would not be suitable for the purpose, even if she arrived in time, they gave orders to the Masulipatam factors to buy a vessel of about 200 tons and fit her with the necessary stores and a crew of 'laskars'; and this was done at a cost of under 1,600 old pagodas. She was fitted with four guns from the Fort and seven or eight Englishmen appointed to sail in her, with Thomas Bland as master, who had been twice to Pegu as mate. Her cargo was only about 3,845 rials, with a little freight in addition. Had not the Governor of Masulipatam forced all 'the freighters' to go upon his own Pegu ship, the *Ruby* (as the new vessel has been named) would have earned a large sum in that way. She set sail for Syriam on September 16. On the same day the *Dove* arrived from Bantam, with a small cargo. A week later she was dispatched to Masulipatam, and from thence, with the *Bonito*, to 'Emaldee',[2] 'the better to ride out the annuall October storme'. The *Dove* was

[1] The duplicate adds: 'the Chineses'.

[2] See note on p. 314 of the 1637–41 volume, to which may be added that a seventeenth-century map in the British Museum (*Addl. MSS.* 15737, f. 6) shows 'Emeldee' between Gollapālem and Point Narsapur. Wylde's Journal (*Sloane* 3231) gives the name as 'Semmaldee', which seems to be the more correct form. In the old edition of the *Indian Atlas*, the island between the Vasishta branch of the Godāvari and the outlet of the Upputéru is called 'Sumuldivee', while the *Godaveri Manual* speaks of the Upputéru outlet as its 'Sambaldivi' mouth. The probability seems to be that the roadstead was just inside that outlet.

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sent back to Bantam on December 10 with a good cargo. Particulars of the lading of the *Bonito*, which sailed for Gombroon on December 27, with Paul Waldegrave (recalled from Petapoli) to assist in the disposal of her cargo. As they were unable to send both ships back to England, they have enlarged the amount fixed for the cargo of the *Lioness*, with the result that, instead of the 2,000*l.* appointed to be left 'to keepe the Hughlee factors in action', the stock at Balasore is now little more than 6,000 rupees. Money, &c., received from the trustees of the late Robert Spavin, for which satisfaction is to be made in England. To keep the Hūglī factors supplied with money for the purchase of saltpetre, it is intended to send thither all the remaining lead and broadcloth; and it is hoped that the Pegu factors will also (as before) make a remittance thither 'by bills of exchange upon pawnes'. As regards the three factors appointed for Hūglī, the Company arranged to allow them, in lieu of salary, &c., five per cent. 'provision' upon the 2,000*l.* allotted to that factory.[1] As already explained, the stock actually available there is much less, and the commission upon it will scarce suffice to provide the merchants with diet; moreover, Bridgman is the only one there with whom this agreement was made. Request, therefore, instructions what his proportion is to be or whether (as would be the better course) he should be allowed a regular salary; otherwise, he and Stephens must diet apart, the former paying his own expenses. With them as assistants are two young men who came out in the *Lioness*,[2] it is said in that capacity; but they are not mentioned in the Company's letter and no wages appear to have been assigned them, though it is reasonable that they should be paid if they are employed for the Company. Brookhaven has ordered that they should be provided with necessaries in the meantime at the cost of the Company. The *Lioness* left the Bay on December 16, reached Masulipatam on the 27th, sailed again on January 1, and arrived here a week later. She leaves for England to-day, with a cargo of 47,924 rials 14½*d.* on account of the United Joint Stock.

[1] It had been arranged in England that the merchants intended to be left at Hūglī were to bear all their own expenses and those of the two 'servants' allowed them, in return for a 'provision' (i.e. commission) of 5 per cent. on all goods they should buy (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 11).

[2] William Blake and Francis Taylor (see the previous volume, p. 333, and *Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 11).

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Letter-books, &c., for this Coast sent home in her; also a packet received from Surat. The ships expected from England had not reached that place by November 20; it is to be hoped that 'the unfortunate enterprise of Assada' has not proved more prejudicial to their voyage than it was to that of the *Lioness* and *Bonito*, whose arrival here it much delayed and thereby helped to prevent the return of both ships. For other particulars of 'the Assada and Bengala passadges' they refer to Capt. Brookhaven, who was entrusted by the Company with the management of both. William Hicks, one of Courteen's factors, died last year in Bengal, and left an estate of 599⅛ rupees, equivalent to 187 new pagodas, 6 fanams, 2 cash.[1] This sum has been credited to him in the books ending November 30 last; but as the greater part is in the hands of Richard Knipe, who has carried it to Pegu, nothing should be paid to the executors until further advice. The quicksilver will be sent to Masulipatam, where it bears a better price than here, though at this place a profit of 50 per cent. has been offered. The vermilion has been sold at 60 per cent. profit. Both these commodities are in good demand, and the same applies to lead; but red lead 'is a drugg'. Broadcloth is not needed except for Bengal, where greens and reds will sell to the same quantity as last sent. Other vendible commodities are coral, alum, and brimstone. Gold and silver in bullion or ingots yield more profit than in coins; yet a few rials are necessary for Bengal trade. Request a plentiful supply of paper for books, invoices, &c. Three Dutch ships reached Pulicat lately, two of them from Taiwan and one from Malacca; but it is not known what treasure they brought. 'Discontents betweene Vanderlin and Caron, their Generall and Second in Battavia, hath (tis said) occasion'd both their goings this yeare for Europe, with some result, as it seemes, upon their actions;[2] for Hewssens,[3] the late Governor in Paleacatt, comaunds the best parte of their fleete, and Reiners, Third of Councell in Battavia, is proclaim'd Generall. The Portugalls of S. Tomey have lately, by order from

[1] The new pagoda is reckoned at 8*s.*, and the rupee at 2*s.* 6*d.*

[2] Kornelis Vanderlyn resigned his post as Governor-General to Carel Reyniersz in the autumn of 1650, and embarked for Holland, together with François Caron, in the following January.

[3] Arnold Heussen was in charge of the Dutch settlements on the coast from 1643 to 1650, when he was succeeded by Laurens Pit.

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the Vice Roy, tendred us much amyty for the time to come, but never a word of reparation for passed injuries; nor may wee, notwithstanding their faire promises, expect better correspondency then in former times, seing where is noe government must bee much injustice.' Will see to the refining of the saltpetre landed here and at Masulipatam. Hope to return the *Bonito* and another ship next year. Note the valuation made of the Fort, privileges, &c., at this place and those at Masulipatam;[1] 'wee must need say the United Stock hath bought 'em farr cheaper then they cost; and yet it may fall out (as the trade is managed) at more then they are worth.' 'The Gulcandah Nabob (alias Meir Mamud Syed[2]), who was formerly wont to buy the Dutch spices at his owne prices or hinder other merchants from comming to them, hath begott an order from Batavia to keepe them in their godownes here, unless either the Nabob himselfe will, or permitt others to, buy them at such high rates as they have prescribed (the reason wee could get none for your account); which hath so nettled him, to bee disappointed of a trade that yearely brought him in very great proffitt as; to cry quittance, hee hath made a monopoly of all the browne [i.e. unbleached] cloth in these new conquests, not suffering a piece to bee sold but by his owne ministers, who are to engross all from the weavers and have order to rate them at 20 per cent. proffitt to whomsoever will buy, or keepe them in his warehowses, as the Dutch doe their spices; and this course is hee resolved to continue, untill hee can bring a monopoly upon all imported goods. Soe that wee are likewise involved in the same predicament, though perchance ours had scarce beene thought on, beeing of small consequence in respect of the Dutches vast traffique in these parts; but his pollicy now must poiz us both in one scale, though it seemes with different affections. For whereas, in hopes to quench this heate and open the trade againe, in September last they sent up a Dutchman to him at Gundicota[3] (an almost

[1] See *Court Minutes*, 1644–49, p. 357.

[2] Mīr Muhammad Saīd (Mīr Jumla).

[3] Gandikota, in Cuddapah District. It was a very important stronghold, commanding the valley of the Penner. For the Dutch mission (under Jacob van Wesel) see *Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. xvii, no. 518. Notwithstanding the positive statement in the text, there is some doubt as to the date of the capture of the fortress. The Dutch letter referred to seems to intimate that, at the time of Van Wesel's visit, it was still being besieged by Mīr Jumla, who is stated to have lost not less than 3,000 men by the sallies

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impregnable castle neere 300 miles of, subdued by his resolution, against the opinion of all men, the last spring) with a large present, it was very scornefully rejected and the messenger disgracefully return'd without any answer to his letter or message. When wee, about the same time and for the same end, sent up our Bramine, with a horse, six yards of skarlet, 24 yards of gold and silver lace, with some other toyes for presents, which mett a courteous reception, and an answer return'd full of faire promises and shewes of freindship; withall inviting us to a neerer correspondence and amity, for which purpose hee had enordred the said Bramany to deliver certaine propositions unto us, which are to bee read at large in our letter to Bantam of 10th passed and in our instructions of 12th ditto to Master Littleton,[1] whome for his civill comportment, language, and experience (though none of your servants) finding more apt for this business then any of our owne people, wee imploy'd with our Bramine; therefore avoid their repetition, and the rather because the said Nabob himselfe hath in a letter to Your Worshipps declared the substance of his intencions and earnest desire to joine in a stock with the Honourable Company on such termes as are there proposed, either for a generall trade or having only referrence to voiages to and from this coast, as you shall approve off. This letter [*see* p. 13] being in Persian, wee have translated the substance into English and sent herewith for your perusall, in case an interpreter cannot bee readily got for the other; yet if possible tis desired your answer may bee return'd with all speed in the same charracter. As for the presents therein mention'd, being a box of bezar, seald up with his seale, and a fardle of fine cloth, marked Nabobs presents, together with the letter in a waxt bagg, are deliver'd Capt. Brookehaven, unto whom wee have discourst what wee can apprehend as conveniencies or inconveniencies in this affaire; the principall objections being drawne from such affronts as may bee offred us by the Dutch, who, having already notice, doe not only disswade but menace us from the entertaining such propositions, that must needs bee so prejudiciall to their trade on this coast, on of the best flowres in their India garden. Also the

of the garrison; while Tavernier (Ball's translation, vol. i, p. 284) declares that, when he reached Gandikota in August, 1652, it had only been taken eight days earlier, after a siege of three months.

[1] Neither of these documents is extant.

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consequence of this example is to bee consider'd: what influence it may have on your presidencies or other factories by inviteing those princes to a like, though more prejuditiall, combination, or set up such or more generall monopolies, to the utter ruine of trade; appropriating to themselves a kind of power (as the intreaties of great men differ little from commands) to dispose of your principall servants, as in these proposalls touching Henry Greenhill, without respect of his long being already in India or earnest desire to returne for his countrey; the like whereof was not long since put in act at Surrat, with some disturbance to your affaires, if not conduceing towards the abbreviation of the late Presidents daies.[1] And lastly you are deprived of such proffitt as might bee expected upon your Europe comodities, yet hee will reape in all other trades an equall benifitt with the Company. Now, as these are very considerable oppositions to this designe, soe on the contrary the advantage you have by accordation in part or all will bee very great; for whether you have or have not monies, you are sure to have such cloth as these parts affoord, at the cheapest rates and of size and goodness according to your desire, paying only for the same at ships arrivall; soe that, being alwaies ready therewith beforehand, your shipping may bee timely dispeeded to their designed ports; you will bee secured from bad debts, and your servants here from much trouble; noe dead stock lye unemployed; and private trade abolished. Nor is your share in the great freights and proffitable voiages hee makes to Persia, Mocho, Pegu, etc. (soe you can furnish him with pylotts, gunners, and carpenters for better security of his shipps) least considerable.' As an earnest of his intentions, the Nawāb has already supplied them with 3,000 pieces of longcloth and 'sallampoores', of which as many as could be got ready in time have now been sent home, specially marked. The prices are not yet known, but they have been invoiced at the rates usually paid. The Agent will write further overland from Masulipatam, to which place he is about to proceed, in order to consult the factors concerning these and other matters. (14 *pp.*)

[1] See the last volume, p. xix.

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INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE AGENT AND COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO CAPTAIN BROOKHAVEN FOR THE HOMEWARD VOYAGE OF THE *LIONESS*, JANUARY 18, 1651 (*O.C.* 2201).[1]

He is to proceed direct to St. Helena, and there await the Bantam and Surat ships until the end of May. Fairfax, John Gurney, and Canning [Cannon] go home as passengers. For the government of his crew, and the succession to his post 'in case of mortality', they refer him to his commission from the Company. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp. Received July* 25.)

RICHARD DAVIDGE AT DELHI TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JANUARY 28, 1651 (*O.C.* 2203).

Has deferred writing, in the hope of announcing his departure from this place; for, finding Sadullah Khān unwilling to give his *parwāna* according to the King's order, he had resolved to solicit a farewell audience with His Majesty, 'that soe, if the Kinge shewed me any countenance by demandinge any questions, I might renew my request unto him'. With the assistance of Khalīl Khān [*see the previous volume*, p. 301] and Haqīqat Khān, the necessary permission was obtained; but, owing to the King's frequent excursions and other amusements, it was not until January 23 that a suitable opportunity could be found. The day before arrived the Surat letter of December 26, which confirmed Davidge in his resolution. On the date mentioned, 'I did, by the advice of Calele Ckawn and Haekekett Ckawn, present the Kinge with a small piscash; whereupon, and Calele Ckawns accquaintinge him with the contents of the piscash [*pīshkash*, a present] brought at my first arriveall, the Kinge gave order for a dagger for the President and, insteed of a sirpawe [*sarāpā*, dress of honour], a horse for myselfe; both which the 25th instant, at my last appeareance before the Kinge, I was possest of. But the Kinge demanded nothinge concerneinge any of my buissenesse, as I hoped and expected; nor did I motion any thinge to him, beinge advised to the contrary. The dagger is small, but a very faire one, of the bignesse of that given in Mr. Turners time,[2] but, by report of those that have seene both, this is farre richer, the handle beinge sett in gold inlayde with dyamonds, rubees, and

[1] There is a second copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[2] See p. 230 of the 1642–45 volume.

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emeralds of severall sizes. The horse a Turkey, vallewed at 300 rupees. The dagger I shall dispose of accordinge to your order, as allsoe the horse; allthough the latter was given in perticuler to me insteed of a sirpawe. It being lefft to my choise, I did rather chose a horse, because it is the greater honour, relinquishinge my owne interest for the reputation and bennifitt of the Honourable Company.' Now replies to the Surat letter. On reaching Agra, he will endeavour to reduce the price of saltpetre. In the meantime, as the indigo investment is finished (the Hindaun men not having come to terms) Andrews and Rawdon have been instructed to repair to Agra, to look after the saltpetre already contracted for. Davidge's last letter will have informed Surat of the settlement made with Muizz-ul-Mulk. Probably the whole amount would have been lost if the matter had been deferred till now, for in giving in his accounts Muizz-ul-Mulk 'is found endebted many lacks of rupees to the Kinge and Beagum, for payment whereof his great friend, Sadula Ckawn, dayely presseth him'. Trusts that by this time the goods sent down have safely arrived. 'The extraordinary exactions of radarres may in some manner be attributed to the want of raynes this year Ahm[adabad] way; but that cannot take of my suspition of the unfaithfullnesse of our house servants.' Fears that the latter are in fault in the 'Lavally' business; for though Davidge sent some of them by way of Biāna with 'Barramulls' [*see* p. 9] *parwāna*, they are gone another way and nothing has been heard of the result. Fears collusion between them and the Governor, for it is not likely that the Prince's *Dīwān* would give Davidge his *parwāna* 'for a shewe onely'. If that business succeed well, the *farmān* about *rāhdārīs* may prove effectual, as it has already been found 'in the parts of Pooroob'. In future 'paules'[1] shall be made of broader cloth, for which purpose 'mercolls' will probably be most suitable. As regards the transfer of goods from the Fourth to the United Joint Stock, he desires to know whether separate books are to be kept for the two accounts, from what date the books of the United Joint Stock should commence, and what is to be done about certain debts. Will be glad of the promised assistance, as there is plenty of work. Notes the order not to send 'expresses' in future. The return of the *Assada Merchant* from Persia without a lading

[1] Apparently tent (Hind. *pāl*) sheets.

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seems to show that the markets are bad there. Particulars of the valuation made at Agra of the samples of coral sent thither. The rates promise good profit, if speedy sale could be relied upon; but no dependence can be placed on the promises of those merchants, who say moreover that they must see the whole chest before giving a definite opinion. Still, a small quantity of each sort would probably sell to advantage. Andrews writes from Biāna that the broker, Dhanjī, died there on the 15th current; requests instructions as to his successor. If one be sent up from Surat, care should be taken that he has no connexion with the great merchants at Surat or Ahmadābād. Although he has taken leave of the King, Davidge cannot quit this place for three or four days. His Majesty has ordered 800 or 1000 'covetts' of broadcloth to be 'brought into his sirkarre' [*see the* 1624–29 *volume*, p. 141], and Davidge must await the arrival of certain bales which he has ordered from Agra for this purpose; otherwise he fears that too low a price will be fixed. Encloses a letter from Lucknow. Inquires the dimensions of certain 'Kerreabaud bafftaes' included in the list from Surat. 'The Kinge, affter maney dubious thoughts, at last is resolved and in prepareinge to goe to Kishmeere; he purposeth to depart hence about 12 or 14 dayes hence; and this is all the news the Court affoards, there beinge noe talke at all of Candahar, nor noe preperations towards it.' ($3\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Received at Surat March* 28, *and in London* (*overland*) *January* 2, 1652.)

PRESIDENT MERRY AND MESSRS. PEARCE AND OXENDEN AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 31, 1651 (*O.C.* 2204).

Their letter of October 24 was carried to Gombroon by the *Falcon* and thence at once dispatched overland to Basra, consigned to the Italian friar Ignatius, who doubtless forwarded it immediately to Aleppo; while another was sent on November 19 to the Coast for transmission by the *Lioness*. Their fears for the safety of the *Love* and the *Aleppo Merchant* were allayed by the arrival of both on December 4. It seems that unfavourable winds detained them in the English Channel until May 1, and they met with similar delays on the way to the Cape, which was not doubled till August 9. The Comoros were reached on September 13, and after only two

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days spent in obtaining provisions the voyage was resumed. After a tedious passage by way of the Arabian coast, the ships arrived at Swally on the date already mentioned, bringing the Company's letter of April 2 and the other papers described in the list of packet. Their goods were at once landed, with the exception of the silver ingots, which they (warned by the previous year's experience) kept aboard until the shroffs had tested the samples and made an offer for the purchase of the lot. The Governor was very anxious to secure the landing of the silver and did his best to influence the shroffs, but they are 'tedious fellowes', and it was not until December 28 that the bargain was concluded. The course taken was justified by the prices obtained, which were better than those of the preceding consignment, though the quality of the silver was if anything inferior. Now proceed to answer the Company's letter. Have duly noted the valuation made of the shipping, &c., here and the transfer of the same from the Fourth to the United Joint Stock. The vessels here belonging to the former are the *Falcon*, *Expedition*, *Lanneret*, *Seahorse*, and two large country boats used for lading and discharging cargo; in addition they have two pinnaces, the *Assada Merchant* and the useless *Lioness's Whelp*. All these will be employed in future for the United Joint Stock. The *Assada Merchant* was sent on a voyage to Persia before the agreement was known; but this is more than counterbalanced by the large sum spent recently on the repair of the *Falcon*. The freight earned by the *Assada Merchant* in that voyage was about 6,000 mahmūdīs. Trust that no further attempt will be made to colonize Assada. Have heard many strange reports of profits to be made by such a course and have read 'a rediculous booke lately published on the subject and the trade of India';[1] but are of opinion that if the Portuguese (who discovered the island more than a century since) had found it feasible, they would long ago have planted a colony there. As ordered, steps are being taken to value the goods, household stuff, plate, &c., in the various factories, with a view to turning the whole over to the United Joint Stock. Detail the arrangements made for this purpose at a consultation held on December 19 [*see the previous volume*, p. 339]. The Company should, however, note

[1] This may have been Colonel Robert Hunt's pamphlet on the Assada scheme, mentioned at p. ix of *Court Minutes*, 1650–54.

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that the proceeds of all thus transferred will not suffice to pay the debts of the Fourth Joint Stock. The balance-sheet of the Second General Voyage, after allowing for recoveries to be made from the King of Bījāpur (for cloth seized at Rājāpur) and from Muizz-ul-Mulk, shows a deficiency of 196,006 mahmūdīs, towards which they will have the 185,457 mahmūdīs to be received from the sale of the silver now arrived. No definite statement can be made at present of the position of the Fourth Joint Stock, as many of its creditors are very backward in making up the account of interest due. Regret to learn the deadness of trade in England, as large investments had been made here, especially at Agra and Lucknow. However, they must now send a larger proportion to Gombroon. Since last writing, they have not been able to purchase any large quantity of sugar and saltpetre, which the Company desired to have in preference to more expensive goods, in order to keep down the value of the cargo. A supply of the former has been obtained from Agra, and of the latter from Ahmadābād and Sind; but it was too late to get any saltpetre from the Malabar Coast. Have therefore added to the cargo some gumlac, shellac, and seed lac, besides some 'dooties' bought at Ahmadābād. Could not avoid exceeding the limit of value fixed by the Company, unless they sent the ship back with dead freight. Sugar was so scarce last year that the little now forwarded was procured with difficulty; while this year's crop is so short, 'by reason of the great want of raines, allmost all India over', that it will be still more difficult to get any considerable quantity for the next shipping. The same is true of indigo, but fortunately the Company requires but little of that commodity. Doubtless a sufficient quantity of saltpetre will be procurable; but if they cannot get the desired amount of sugar, they are not likely to be able to send back two ships next year, unless the Company will be satisfied to have the balance made up with lac, olibanum, myrrh, &c. Could not get any olibanum or aloes this year on reasonable terms; while as for borax, they hear that at home it has fallen very much in price. Explain why only the *Love* has now been sent back to England. The *Aleppo Merchant* sailed on January 11 for Gombroon with a cargo for the United Joint Stock, besides many freight goods and passengers. Note the complaints made of damaged goods received by the *Golden Fleece* and *Aleppo*

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Merchant. Probably the bales had got wet in fording rivers and, the covers having dried, the mischief was not detected here. Have done their best to prevent or remedy such damage and will continue their efforts to that end. The commander of the *Love*, after viewing the cotton bales, liked their manner of packing so well that 'hee caused very little alteracion of the old forme'. Find that in the charter-party the *Love* is reckoned at 500 tons and the *Aleppo Merchant* at 400, whereas in the Company's letter their tonnage is given as 400 and 350 tons respectively. The lower figures are probably correct, though Day affirms that the *Love* can take in 500 tons. Note a clause in the charter-parties inflicting a forfeiture by the Company of 1000*l.* if 70 tons of pepper be not provided for the lading of each ship; this stipulation may, they fear, prove prejudicial on some future occasion. This year they were doubtful of getting any Malabar pepper, owing to Morse's proceedings; while none is to be expected from Bantam. Fortunately, on January 1 the *Expedition* arrived from Rājāpur with a good quantity of pepper and cardamoms, besides a little saltpetrè. She had also procured at Goa 63 bales of cinnamon, but could get no cassia lignum there, as the Ceylon ships had not arrived. The goods from England appear to be in satisfactory condition. The broadcloth is at present housed at Swally. There is little encouragement to dispatch any of it to Persia, for the small quantity sent thither last year remained unsold till October, and then fetched but moderate prices. 'The truth is the kingdome of Persia is glutted with courss cloth (truckt for silke and other comodities) from the bottom of the Streights[1]; soe that yours, which is generally dearer and better, is the less esteemed.' Hope, however, that Lewis, when he returns from Ispahān to Gombroon, will encourage them to send a further consignment. Some may be disposed of at Agra, though that place is likewise glutted with cloth brought from Persia by Armenians. In future, therefore, not more than 200 cloths should be sent out annually, and these all reds and greens. The lead has been sold to the Governor here at the same price as last year; while the elephants' teeth Vīrjī Vōra has bought. The quicksilver had been put into barrels with wooden hoops instead of iron, with the result that nearly a fifth had leaked out; the remainder was saved by the

[1] An old term for the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

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care of the master, who preserved it 'in double glass'. The arrival of a quantity from Batavia brought down the price; yet it is now rising again, and they hope it will soon be 130 rupees per maund. The ducats produced a loss, though they came when gold was in more esteem than usual; so no more should be sent. The rix dollars were found right in tale; but those in the *Love* included 500 'lyon (or, as they are called by the Dutch, dogg) doller[s], which are here noe more worth then rup. 171: 40 pice per hundred, according as the Dutch sells them, with allowance of weight; and soe wee sold youres'. These were not mentioned in the letter, and evidently the Company's cashier received them as rix dollars, which fetched the old rate of 216 rupees 16 per hundred, and 25 rupees over on every 4,000. They had great difficulty in persuading the shroffs to give this price, and it is doubtful whether they will be drawn to it again. The rials of eight were short by one hundred and some were below weight. The old rials fetched 215¼ mahmūdīs, the new 212¼, and the coarse 202¼, per hundred. The Company complain constantly of the low rates obtained; but the present prices are more likely to fall than to rise, especially in the case of the coarse Peru rials, which the shroffs are resolved not to take in future except at a lower rate. They are understood to be losers on these at the current price; and, although they are doubtless gainers on the other kinds, 'there are not any amongst them that are reputed rich'. Thank the Company for the wine, drug chest, paper, &c. The two former might have been increased with advantage. Formerly they were able to obtain from the ships' stores any additional wine required; but now they are forced to buy it from 'the freighted ships adventurers' at an advance of at least 50 per cent. Refer to the consultation of December 7 for the quantity purchased, out of which a hogshead has been presented to the Governor of Ahmadābād, and part of the remainder to the Viceroy of Goa, to Balthazar Devigoe (the English procurator there), and to the Captain of Damān; after supplying the other factories, a quite insufficient quantity would be left here but for this supplementary purchase. Suggest the dispatch in future of five pipes of wine and five butts of beer, oil, and Alicant yearly. Note the Company's orders regarding salaries.[1] Merry is grieved to find

[1] See *Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 23. Merry's salary was fixed at 300*l.*; while those of Pearce and Oxenden were increased to 200*l.* and 100*l.* respectively.

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his salary reduced by 50*l.*; not because this will impoverish him (although he is 'the poorest of many, if not all the Presidents you have had'), but because it seems to argue some dislike to him on the part of the Company and therefore involves a certain discredit. However, his term of office is drawing to an end and he hopes to be allowed to return to England next year. His colleagues are sorry to see that Oxenden's salary is left inferior to those of other members of the Council, for he is an able and industrious man. Pearce returns his thanks for the Company's expressions of favour and respect towards him. They desire to recommend Anthony Clitherow for a considerable enlargement of salary. The 25*l.* per annum allowed to Charles Milward, now at Ahmadābād, is regarded as inadequate, and in the enclosed letter[1] he asks that it may be increased; and the same may be said of Buckeridge, Andrews, and Scrivener. In Persia, Lewis and Best are likely to feel aggrieved at not receiving any increase, especially the former. Persia is a far more expensive country to serve in than India, and the salaries of the factors do not defray half their expenses. Should these two decide to return home, now that their period of service has expired, it will be very difficult to replace them. Joyce, who was sent there at his own desire, died last May; and Wycherley is the only assistant left. The latter, having served four years on small wages, has now been given 25*l.* per annum for three years, subject to confirmation by the Company. Are surprised to find Thomas Breton omitted from the list of factors. He has been employed nine years at various places and is now chief at Ahmadābād. Trust that either his present salary of 50*l.* will be confirmed and enlarged, or that he will be rewarded at his return, which will probably be next year. Beg also that the salary of Walter Gollofer, who has served nearly seven years, may be confirmed. John Naylor, who was taken ashore three years ago to assist the Accountant and now goes home, has been given the same gratuity (800 mahmūdīs) as his predecessor, Nathaniel Tems; they further recommend him to the Company's favour in regard to payment for his passage, and would be glad if he were re-engaged. Desire that competent salaries may be assigned to Verity Rawdon and George Purchas, who are stationed at Agra and Lucknow; the former came out as steward's mate in the *Eagle*, and the latter in the *Blessing* the

[1] This forms *O.C.* 2195.

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same year [1647].[1] Davidge desires to leave Agra this year, his time being expired, and so they intend to transfer Jesson thither as chief, and to send Swinnerton and Swallow to assist him. Praise John Chambers, who has served here four years as a 'boarder' without pay. Finding that no salary had now been allotted him, he asked leave to go home; but they have persuaded him to stay one year longer, in hopes that the Company will give him some encouragement. Anthony Daniel, who came out in the 1649 fleet, has been an 'office writer' here all last year and has proved himself a 'well governed and civill youth'. Hopton Martin, who is now in Sind, is favourably spoken of by Spiller; he has received 800 mahmūdīs, his bills for which are enclosed.[2] William Lovell and Thomas Park, also newcomers, have behaved well and diligently. Those who arrived in the last fleet are in good health. Some of them, viz. Christopher Oxenden, John Swinnerton, Matthew Andrews, Daniel Otgher, Edward Joscelyn, and Augustine Swallow, are fit to be sent to other stations, and their distribution will be seen from the accompanying list of factors;[3] the rest will be retained in the writing office here, except Robert Masters, who is being sent to Ahmadābād to be brought up by Breton. John Goodyear returns thanks for the Company's favours. Henry Gary's transfer to Sind was solely due to an inclination on the part of Spiller to go home, and should not be interpreted to his disadvantage. Some of those employed in these parts have been entirely forgotten in the Company's letter, while others are but meanly dealt with in the matter of salary; urge a reconsideration of the matter. Of the six factors recalled, John Broadbent went home last year and Thomas Cogan was sent to Bantam in the *Hind* last April; so only Philip Wylde, Francis Hammersly, Thomas Cook, and Revett Walwyn are now here. Wylde and Hammersly are now preparing to return in the *Love*, as the former would in any case have done. Hammersly obtained permission in 1649 to come down from Agra, intending to go home

[1] Purchas died in Agra on May 14, 1651, aged 24 years. His tombstone is still to be seen there, forming one of the group figured in the frontispiece to the 1637–41 volume. It is next to that of John Drake.

[2] He had been permitted to go to Surat for employment in the counting-house there for four years, on the understanding that the Company should only provide him with diet (*Court Minutes*, 1644–49, p. 296).

[3] Probably that given at p. 338 of the last volume.

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in the *Eagle*, but changed his mind and stayed, on the understanding that he was to receive no pay unless the Company chose to give him some. He has since been employed for a time at Baroda and Broach during Walwyn's sickness. The latter having recovered and returned to his post, they venture (at his earnest request) to retain him for another year, in order that he may instruct some one else in the business. Cook has been Marine Factor since Adler's departure, though of late 'by reason of a dangerous sickness of consumption which hee is fallen into', it has been necessary to provide him with an assistant. The surgeon thinks he will recover if he remains on shore, but he is not fit for a sea voyage; so they have detained him until next year. Richard Newland, also mentioned in the Company's letter, is dead. They have no intention of reviving the trade at Achin or Suakin. The former place has been very chargeable and in no way profitable; 'the country, and consequently the trade, poore and pedling, and yet soe overlayed that wee resolved three yeares since to forbeare the sending of any more goods thither. And now that the Dutch have incorporated the most parts of Sumatra in a manner to themselves, by forceing the Queene to theire owne conditions, it will grow worss; when there wilbe neither tyn nor peper there acquireable but with much difficulty and danger, if the Dutch durst doe that which they have a mynde and will unto; whoe have allready seazed on jounkes of this place tradeing thither, and doe yet detayne them, notwithstanding all the meanes the owners can make by solicits for restoracion.'[1] For further information they refer to Wylde. Suakin is likewise found dangerous and unprofitable, as previously advised. So this year voyages will only be made to Persia, Basra, and Mokha, unless they should decide to send the *Assada Merchant* to the coast of 'Malinda' as an experiment. Persia is the most certain trade of all; though prospects this year are doubtful according to the latest advices. An unusually large number of ships have already left this place for Gombroon and it is feared that the markets will be glutted. Considerable investments have been made for Mokha and Basra, though competition has raised the prices at Ahmadābād from 10 to 25 per cent. The 'spill markett' Dutch are preparing to send two ships to Basra this year and intend to settle a factory there. In obedience

[1] See the *Hague Transcripts* at the India Office, series i. vol. xvii. no. 529.

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to the Company's orders, no English factors will be left at that place, though such a course would be little more expensive. Cranmer secured a house there by lending a sum of money on it, but this is useless if no factors are left. If three or four persons were settled there (as the Dutch intend) the charge would not be much, while the benefits would be considerable. Will do their best to dispatch the *Seahorse* thither before the Dutch. Thank the Company for offering to allow their servants to invest in the United Joint Stock; but most men here need all their money for trade on their own account, while those going home naturally wish to carry their estate with them in goods for sale in England. The Company are right to deal severely with those who injure their trade in this manner, but the seamen are the chief offenders. A good store of quicksilver was brought out in this fleet as private trade, but the owners cannot be discovered. Assure the Company of their inability to obtain any spices here, as the Dutch will only sell them on condition they are not passed on to the English merchants. The enclosed extract[1] from one of Best's letters will show that none can be got at Gombroon by fair means, and the course proposed by his broker has been rejected here as pernicious and dishonest. Moreover, the Dutch carry no 'maces' thither, 'they being in a manner useless amongst the Persians'. The letter and present sent by the Company for the Governor of Surat were meant of course for Muizz-ul-Mulk, but after his evil behaviour towards them it was out of the question to forward them to him: so the letter is returned and the present is put 'to better uses'. Muizz-ul-Mulk is now out of favour at court, but Davidge has succeeded in recovering from him most of what was due. Had the letter and present arrived during his tenure of office, it would have been regarded as a sign that the Company did not resent his interference two years ago in the domestic affairs of the factory; and this might have been of evil consequence. Merry is sorry to hear that his own proceedings therein were disapproved by some at home; but he trusts that subsequent events have vindicated his action and he

[1] See *O.C.* 2194. In it the writer reports a suggestion from the broker that the Governor and Shāhbandar might be bribed to forbid merchants from buying spices of the Dutch, and then to buy them themselves and make them over to the English. He further says that the Dutch will only sell their spices with their other goods and then at very high prices.

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knows that his only motive was the good of the Company. Explain certain items in previous estimates of the quick stock here. The order to provide a cargo of 8,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* for Bantam came too late, as goods suitable for that place must be ordered a considerable time beforehand; but they will send thither in the *Expedition* such goods as they have already acquired, though these will not amount to half the sum named. President Peniston, in a letter of August 14 last, promised to send the *Endeavour* to this place, but as yet there is no sign of her. The *Expedition* may be repaired at Bantam more conveniently than here, and may then be fit to serve in those parts, where they complain of want of shipping. This will leave Surat with only four vessels, two of them of very small capacity; but these will suffice. The balance due to Bantam will be sent thither in goods next November. The differences between the Bantam and Surat accounts must be due to discrepancies in 'the reduction of monyes'. Note 'the fained and falce pretence of certaine Aremenian merchants in the courte of France'; as their suit was rejected there, they may complain to the King of Persia, and so the factors in that country have been advised of the matter.[1] The proposal to send one of the freighted ships down the Malabar Coast to procure saltpetre and sugar was found impracticable, owing to their late arrival. Plenty of unrefined saltpetre can be obtained at Rāybāg and neighbourhood; but timely notice must be received from England, and then it is not likely to be obtained, as suggested, in truck for broadcloth at 70 or 80 per cent. profit on the latter. Saltpetre 'is the King of Vigepores [Bījāpur's] comodity, and hee rents it out unto such as will have money for it; and as for cloth, although it bee sold there at very considerable profite, yet the whole country doe scarse vend 50 clothes the yeare.' However, as regards the supply for the next fleet, they hope to procure sufficient from Agra and Ahmadābād, and already refined, which will come as cheap as or cheaper than the Rāybāg kind. Very little sugar is to be obtained on the Malabar Coast; while the Deccan sort is too coarse for England. Their chief reliance is on Agra and Lucknow, though perchance a small quantity may also be procured here or at Ahmadābād. Suggest that when two or more ships are sent out, one of them should discharge most of her treasure into the

[1] Possibly this refers to the incident noted on p. 66.

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rest on nearing land, and should then 'come tradeing up the coast', calling at Bhatkal, Porakād, 'Mirtta' [Mirjān], and Rājāpur for pepper: at Goa for cinnamon, cassia lignum, &c.: and at Rāybāg, &c., for rough saltpetre and sugar. In that case they would yearly send their broker down the coast to assist. Such a course would be much better than sending the whole fleet to Surat in the first instance. Note the reasons for which the Company desire so small returns to be made this time. Although the *Love* will carry away more than is wanted, sufficient stock will be left to provide for the intended voyages to Persia, &c., and to send home two ships next December. Have received the two letters forwarded by the Company, one signed by Alderman Andrews and William and Maurice Thomson, the other by the last-named only. Regret that the fair hopes mentioned in the former touching the Assada plantation have been 'soe untymely blasted'; while, as regards the latter, they intend shortly to send to the King of Bījāpur to treat concerning the seizure of Thomson's money. The 'approbation thereof by the Parliament and Councell of State', mentioned in the letter, was not enclosed; nor do they gather that the Company wish them to make seizure of Bījāpur vessels to enforce the claim, at all events for the present. Have little hope of success, as they have not yet obtained any satisfaction for the cloth seized two years ago at Rājāpur. The King is so obstinate in the matter that he 'comanded all farther treaties touching it should be forborne'; though since then the Governor of Rājāpur, fearing retaliatory measures, has made an offer of 4,000 pagodas, equal to about 32,000 mahmūdīs (which is more than double the cost of the cloth), provided that the money should be 'taken out in customes yearely'; promising that then he would procure the King's *farmān* for their free trade. In reply, payment in cash was demanded; but to this he demurred, fearing the King's disapproval. They intend to dispatch Benī Dās to continue the negotiations, on the basis of half cash, and half to be taken out in customs; if this be refused, they propose to force a settlement by seizing ships. Desire definite instructions whether the same course should be taken to recover what is claimed by Thomson; also that he and the other writers may be apprised of the position of affairs. Nicholas Read two years ago was removed from his post as purser of the *Farewell* for ill behaviour;

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he stayed here for some time and then returned to Bantam in the *Blessing*. Will report in due course the value of what is turned over from the Fourth to the United Joint Stock. Express gratitude for the stores sent out for 'our Indian shipping'; but hope for a more ample supply. Henry Benn came hither on the *Farewell* two years ago and returned in her to Bantam. Having now answered the Company's letters, they will briefly touch on other topics. Have paid two bills of exchange drawn at Masulipatam, amounting to 3,206*l.*,[1] at 475 rupees per 100 old pagodas. No news has been received from those parts. Broadcloth sold in Persia at a good profit. Piece-goods, &c., ordered from Agra. Davidge has been ordered to return thither. His proceedings at court will be learnt from his letter of December 14. Doubt whether the *farmāns* and *nishāns* obtained by him will prove effectual, for the latest caravan from Agra paid as much as in former times, though Davidge hopes to obtain restitution. Muizz-ul-Mulk desired to return some broadcloth, horses, &c., but this Davidge has stoutly resisted. Although *farmāns* have been obtained from the King for compensation for last year's robberies and for payment of Chhatarsāl's debt, the former is delayed, while, as to the latter, the Rājā has promised to pay what he can spare yearly, provided some one is sent to fetch the money; he is, however, so poor that to do so may prove a useless charge. Intend, therefore, to obtain from Agra an account of what has already been expended, and then forward this to the Company for decision. Enclose a further letter from Davidge, announcing that he has settled with Muizz-ul-Mulk; although this involves a loss of 585 rupees 54 pice, they are glad that it is no more. The letters are sent in original, as they are 'worth your audite'. Joshua Blackwell returns in the *Love*, and has been advanced 600 mahmūdīs, to be repaid on his arrival, if this amount be not allowed to him by the Company on account of wages due before his apostasy. He seems truly penitent for his offence and has behaved well since his readmission. Other passengers are Gilbert Gardner (an old servant who has rendered excellent service) and Henry Sivedall. The latter returns for fear his stay might be offensive to the Company; otherwise, he would probably have been content, 'in these unsettled tymes', to remain another year, and if so his com-

[1] The rupee being taken at 2*s.* 3*d.* and the mahmūdī at 1*s.*

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pany would have been very welcome. Both are included in the number of five passengers agreed on by charterparty. Have debated the question of sending the *Assada Merchant* to warn the next fleet of the abandonment of the Assada plantation, but the general opinion is that this is unnecessary. Enclose a letter on the subject addressed by Maurice Thomson to Col. Hunt, dated March 30, 1650, which they received from Sergeant Major Hartley. However, no determination has yet been reached. Have no further news of Durson's proceedings in the *Loyalty*, except from a letter received from John Boyer, commander of the *Hind* in her voyage to Bantam, in which he says that Durson accompanied him to sea from the Coast, with the avowed intention of going to Bengal, but steered on parting as if he were really bound home. Evidently the former report that the *Loyalty* had wintered at Goa was false. Have not heard of any further depredations committed by Morse in the *Friendship*, but his capture of Malabar vessels trading to this port continues to occasion trouble. About a month ago the Governor sent for them and complained of the seizures, urging them to obtain satisfaction, as otherwise he must report the matter to court. In reply they disclaimed all responsibility for the proceedings of Morse, who had also dishonoured them by disregarding the fact that these vessels had their passes, and they suggested that it was the duty of 'the King of India' to secure his own seas from pirates; moreover, they alleged that the Malabars had done the English many wrongs and the grant of passes to them was only made at the entreaty of the Governor. The latter retorted that the President and Council were responsible for all injuries done by Englishmen, instancing the case of Cobb's piracies and intimating that, if satisfaction were not made, similar treatment might be expected. To this answer was returned that the injury received by the Company in Cobb's case had yet to be reckoned for and that, if any fresh violence were offered, they would be obliged to follow the example of the Dutch and right themselves. This seemed to scare the Governor and his associates; for since they have merely entreated the President and Council to intercede with Morse for the restoration of the captured vessels. This was accordingly done on December 24, though whether Morse received the letter is uncertain, as news has recently arrived of his death on board the *Friendship* 'about 48 dayes past', leaving behind

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him over 20,000 rials of eight or their value. He is stated to have fitted out one of his prizes as a 'frigatt of warr' and procured a promise from the Viceroy of fifty sailors to man both vessels, intending to force the redelivery of his men and goods seized by the Bījāpurīs; after which he meant to proceed to the Bay of Bengal. Of his Deccan prizes, one was taken from him by the Viceroy and restored to the owners; the other remained in his hands untouched, he hoping apparently to exchange her for his men and goods. It is also reported that those on board the *Friendship* are at strife over the succession to the command of that vessel. Of the Assada planters, Messrs. Porter and James have petitioned to be allowed to remain here for another year to dispose of their sugar mills, &c., and to await money and other things expected by the *Supply*; and as the *Love* has already more than enough passengers in Wylde, Sivedall, Blackwell, Noke (Breton's servant, an able young man), Naylor, Gardner, Trumball, and Clinch (the Assada surgeon), their request has been granted, contingent on their undertaking to pay the Company for their diet, &c., and to forbear private trade. Sergeant Major Hartley also desired leave to forgo his return this year, as he wished first to receive certain intelligence from England; and further he applied to go to Madraspatam, and there serve the Company in any post open to him. Reply was made that any such employment would be too inferior for him; but as he pressed the application, and is a modest, sober, and honest man, he has been allowed to proceed in the *Assada Merchant* to Gombroon, where he hopes to find the *Bonito* and go in her to Fort St. George. If not employed at that place, he promises to return to England next year. Robert Larkin, the apothecary from Assada, has been entertained as surgeon in the *Assada Merchant*; while the remaining colonists have agreed to serve in the various ships. At the last moment Francis Hammersly has presented a petition for leave to stay another year, alleging that there are outstanding accounts which he must settle before going home. His request has been granted, though most unwillingly, seeing that he has been ordered home by the Company; yet the only alternative was to send him on board as a prisoner, and in that case much trouble with his creditors would ensue. Andrew Trumball also returns in the *Love*, to their great relief. He has been very troublesome this last year, though at

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present he professes sorrow for his misbehaviour, attributing it to ill health, and they are quite ready to forget and forgive. Knowing, however, his deceitful and malicious disposition, and fearing lest he should traduce them on arrival, they enclose a full account of his offences [*see* p. 1] in order to enable the Company to judge the matter fairly.[1] Money advanced to Swallow, Joscelyn, and Swinglehurst, who contend that they are entitled to clothing as well as diet. Shot sold to the Captain of Damān. Their coral is still on hand and is 'the less regarded' owing to the Dutch having landed large quantities. On November 21 the *Expedition* was sent down the Malabar Coast under John Nicholas [Nichols?]. She landed Benī Dās, the broker, at Rājāpur, and then proceeded to Goa, where some cinnamon was obtained. In returning a call was made at Rājāpur and a large quantity of pepper, &c., was embarked. The *Assada Merchant* arrived from Gombroon on December 26, with William Weale on board, bringing 1545½ rials of eight as the proceeds of sales at Basra since Elder's departure. On January 20 she and the *Expedition* sailed in company for Persia with goods and freight. Nicholas having died between Rājāpur and Swally, John Swanley was made commander of the *Expedition*. Two of her sailors, Adam Archer and Thomas Green, deserted at Goa, and have since been imprisoned by the Viceroy, who has been asked to keep them until the ship calls there on her way to Bantam. On November 29 the *Seahorse* departed for Gombroon, and returned hither January 13. She is now preparing for Basra. The *Lanneret* arrived from Sind on December 4, and was then sent to Damān for repairs. She is destined for Mokha, returning by way of Gombroon or Basra and Sind. On January 12 the *Falcon* came in from Gombroon; she is at present lading for another voyage to that place, after which she will be sent to Basra. Now that the *Love* is laden, her cargo is found to amount to 529,966 mahmūdīs 26¼, as per invoice. The indigo is better and cheaper than that sent last year; while the piece-goods are for the most part excellent. The cloth from Sind is rather dearer than last year; and the factors there anticipate that it will be dearer still

[1] On Trumball's arrival the Company appointed a committee to go into the charges against him; but he quickly won their favour by giving information about private trade, &c., in India, and although he was fined 106*l.*, he was granted remission of freight on the goods he had brought home on his own account, and his passage money was ordered to be paid for him (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54).

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next time, owing to the scarcity of cotton wool. The 'tapseeles, neckannes, and Guyney stuffs' were all made in Surat and will, it is hoped, give satisfaction. Remarks concerning the chintz, quilts, &c. Of cotton yarn 73 bales are sent. Particulars of the saltpetre, sugar, borax, pepper, &c. Have forwarded a box of jewels and rings, received in Achin from Courteen's factors, in part repayment of what was forced from the Company's servants on account of debts due by the former; also a Persian silk carpet, and certain pieces of taffeta. Recommend that Wylde and either Gardner or Naylor should have the benefit of free passage. Would have been glad to make John Luker (chief mate of the *Love*) master of one of the ships here, but Day was reluctant to spare him, and so Edward Cock has been appointed master of the *Seahorse*. Recommend Luker as an able and experienced man. Many of their seamen who have been away from England for several years desire to return, but cannot be spared. Suggest that the commanders of freighted ships should be obliged to leave at least eight or ten suitable men here in exchange for time-expired sailors. Anthony Smith has paid in 400 rials of eight and has been given a bill of exchange for 110*l.* payable to Mary Smith. The Dutch are selling their coral at such low prices that they have quite spoilt the market. Particulars of some tapestry desired by the Governor of Ahmadābād, 'Shasde Ckaune' [Shāistah Khān], for which he is willing to pay 20 rupees per yard. Tulsī Dās Khān Pārak, who has served here many years 'as casheire or sheroff' (as his father did before him), petitions that his present salary of 25*l.* may be increased; he is a very honest and industrious man, and deserves substantial encouragement. *P.S.* (*February* 1).—Payment due from Henry Sivedall. Some 'guzzee baftas' sent for a trial. Porter has refused to undertake to pay for his diet and forbear private trade. He was told yesterday that he must either sign or go home in the *Love*; whereupon he immediately departed to Surat, from whence this morning he sent them the accompanying letter.[1] He has probably gone to consult Henry Barrett (one of the Madagascar refugees), who about four years ago came hither from

[1] This forms *O.C.* 2205. In it Porter excuses his sudden departure on the score of urgent business, and points out how inconvenient it would be to him if he were forced to embark for England at so short a notice, at the same time disclaiming any idea of disputing the authority of the President and Council.

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Rājāpur, and was permitted to defer his departure for England because his wife was (as he pretended) with child [*see the preceding volume*, p. 94]. He then promised to go home the following year; but since has questioned the authority of the President and Council to interfere with him in any way. His perverse and passionate disposition has alienated all the other Englishmen here, and for over six months he has absented himself from 'our congregation on the Lords Day'. Finding that his own countrymen refuse to countenance his private trade, he applies himself in an abject manner to the Dutch. The President and Council are doubtful whether they have sufficient authority to imprison or deport such offenders; and so, 'for prevention of a new stock of inland traders', they recommend the Company to apply to Parliament 'to strengthen the authority of your Presidents and Councell in all parts of India against this growing mallady'. The *Love* will sail, they hope, this afternoon.[1] (*Signed copy.* 40¾ *pp.*)

LIST OF COMPANY'S SERVANTS UNDER THE MADRAS AGENCY[2] (*O.C.* 2457).

[*At Fort St. George*]: Henry Greenhill (Agent), Robert Winchester (Minister), Robert Doughty (Godown Keeper), William Broadbent and William Johnson (Assistants), Edward Whiting (Surgeon), and William Brown (Steward); Richard Minors[3] (Lieutenant), Geoffrey Bradford (Sergeant), John Morris and 19 soldiers [*namea*]. *Gone to Persia*: Paul Waldegrave. *At the Camp*: Jeremy Root (Gunner), Hugh Dixon, and Richard Emerson. *At Masulipatam*: [Christopher] Yardley (Chief), [Thomas] Chamber (Second), William Winter and Thomas Symonds (Assistants), Thomas Parks. *At Vīravāsaram*: Edward Winter and William Palmer. *At Peta-*

[1] For lists of books and papers sent home in this ship see *O.C.* 2206, 2207.

[2] Placed in the series as belonging to 1654, owing to a misreading of the endorsement, which is really '1650', i.e. 1650–51. As Parks is included in the list it must be earlier than February 19, 1651, when he was discharged (p. 44); while, on the other hand, it must be later than January 18, 1651, since the name of Fairfax (who sailed then) is omitted.

[3] A nephew of Captain William Minors, whom he probably accompanied to India. He had served in the royalist force that defended Colchester, and on its surrender (1648) had been banished. Greenhill appears to have appointed him to the temporary command of the Fort St. George garrison in 1649, and he held this post until Martin's arrival in September, 1651. For his later history see Love's *Vestiges*, vol. i. p. 156.

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poli: [John] Leigh. *In Pegu*: Martin Bradgate, William Jearsey, Samuel Archer, Thomas Howard, John Lawrence, and Thomas Edwin. *In Bengal*: James Bridgman, William [*sic*] Stephens, William Netlam ('God knows where'), William Blake, and Francis Taylor. (1 *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD AT MASULIPATAM BY HENRY GREENHILL, CHRISTOPHER YARDLEY, EDWARD WINTER, JOHN LEIGH, THOMAS CHAMBER, AND ROBERT DOUGHTY, FEBRUARY 19, 1651 (*O.C.* 2208).

The first subject of consideration is the proposals for trade recently made by the Nawāb [Mīr Jumla] and transmitted to the Company by the *Lioness*. It is conceived that it would be safest to agree to the third article, by which the Nawāb consents to take all their Europe goods and pay for them in cloth and other commodities of this country at rates to be fixed later. It is, however, decided to defer a final determination until President Baker shall visit these parts. If the Company think fit to entertain the proposals, it is hoped that they will give the President, Agent, &c., power to treat and conclude with the Nawāb. On some objecting that the Dutch would be likely to retaliate at sea, answer is made that the Nawāb has already promised in that case 'to vindicate himselfe and us by land'. As the Nawāb has sent the Company a present, the latter should be advised, when they return an answer (which should, if possible, be written in Persian), to authorize the presentation to him of 15 yards of scarlet cloth; 6 pairs of pistols; 10 gallons of the best spirits, and 15 of strong waters (both in handsome cases): 12 yards of rich gold lace, and 12 of gold and silver lace; 6 broadsword blades. In consideration of the services rendered in this matter by Walter Littleton, and of the fact that none of the Company's servants is so fit as he to continue the negotiations, it is decided to give him a salary of twelve rials of eight per month, until the Company's pleasure is known. An able surgeon being needed for Masulipatam and the neighbouring factories, Arthur Seymour, who came out in Courteen's service and has since served as surgeon in the *Endeavour*, is engaged at eight rials of eight per month. Thomas Parks, having served nineteen years, is released from employment and given 50 pagodas in settlement of

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all claims. As regards business in the Bay, Bridgman is referred to the instructions left by Brookhaven, who advised him to seek the assistance of 'W. V. the Dutchman' [*see the previous volume*, p. 332]; and 'for the attaining the Princes firmaund, it is thought most me[et] that a letter should bee directed from hence to Mr. Gabriel Boug[hton], whoe can doe much towards the attaining the same, and a piscash to bee sent him of three yards of scarlett and lace to make him a coate, that hee may bee the more vigilant in the Companies behalfe for gaining their privilidges of paying no coustome through that Princes dominions'. At the request of Richard Potter, it is agreed to pay him here the value (at the usual exchange) of certain debts in the Bay which Bridgman has undertaken to recover for him. A vessel being needed to carry to the Bay a quantity of lead and broadcloth and also 'to navigate to and from Huglee', it is resolved to buy one of about 70 tons now offered for 120 pagodas, and to commit the charge of the same to William Bevis (master) and George Becker. She is renamed the *Transport*. The factors in the Bay are to be instructed to invest their capital, half in saltpetre and the remaining half (in equal proportions) in silk, sugar, and cloth ('sannus adataes'). They are also authorized to accept in satisfaction the money deposited when four great guns were borrowed by certain 'great men', rather than offend the latter by insisting on their return. William Netlam is to be held responsible for any deficiencies that may be discovered at home in the bales shipped in the Bay. The Balasore broker, 'Narrana' [Narāyan], having complained that Netlam had forced from him 246 rupees in exchange for a bill for a bad debt, Netlam is ordered to repay the money. Commodities being now cheap, it is resolved to borrow 3,000 old pagodas to make an investment for Bengal, to be repaid on the arrival of the *Ruby* from Pegu. The Governor of this town lately paid a visit to the Chief here and was given a small present, with which he seemed dissatisfied and returned part; so a further present, of the value of about 140 old pagodas, is now decided upon. (4¼ *pp.*)

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PRESIDENT MERRY AND MESSRS. PEARCE AND OXENDEN AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 21, 1651 (*O.C.* 2209[1]).

Wrote last by the *Love*, which sailed on February 2. Since then they have dispatched the *Falcon* for Gombroon, and are now sending the *Seahorse* to Basra. No news has been received from Bantam. Letters from the Coast announce the dispatch of the *Dove* to Bantam and of the *Bonito* to Gombroon; also the return of the *Lioness* from the Bay and her intended voyage home. The *Aleppo Merchant* reached Gombroon on February 1, and on her return will be again sent thither, with orders to proceed to Masulipatam, getting back to this port in November; after another voyage to Persia, she will be sent to England. Money received from Gombroon in a Dutch ship. Lewis had sold nearly all his goods at Ispahān. The *Seahorse* is to go direct to Basra, in order to anticipate two Dutch ships which are preparing to sail thither. Although prices are low in Persia, part of the broadcloth on hand here was sent thither in the *Falcon*; and part of the rest will be forwarded to Agra. The quicksilver has not yet been sold. Disposal of some rūnās [madder] received from Persia. Have discoursed with Benī Dās concerning the goods landed out of the *Ruth* and delivered by Courteen's factors to their creditors, and find that he is firmly convinced that the King of Bījāpur will never make restitution for what was thus handed over to the merchants in satisfaction of valid debts. He says that doubtless a large sum was due to Courteen from the Governor of Kārwār, but he is dead and the King is not likely to pay his debts. Asked whether he would undertake another journey to court for this purpose, Benī Dās seemed unwilling, saying that, in view of the failure of his recent mission to obtain satisfaction for the seizure of the cloth landed from the *Golden Fleece*, it was manifest that the King would make no reparation whatever. Still, he professes his willingness to go, and perhaps it would be well to send him, accompanied by Courteen's factor Lloyd, 'who is lately expul[s]t Carware, where the Esquires howse and what elce to him belonged is seazed by the King of Decans ministers', Lloyd himself having retired to Goa. Have now written to the latter, suggesting this course. Benī Dās

[1] There is a copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

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desires to be excused the journey at present, and proposes that the *Expedition* should land him at Goa on her way to Bantam. Despair of any recovery on account of the *Ruth's* goods, unless the Company see fit to instruct the next fleet to intercept the Bījāpur junks returning from the Red Sea and other parts. Account of the cargo of the *Falcon*, which sailed on February 8. From a letter written to Bantam by the Coast factors it is learnt that Durson reached Balasore with the *Loyalty* at the end of last August and intended, after repairing his ship and lading saltpetre, to sail direct to England some time last month. Nothing further has been heard of the *Friendship*. Porter continues contumacious, probably at the instigation of Henry Barrett, and is evidently persuaded that the President and Council either have no authority over him or will not dare to exercise it at this time. This is likely to have a bad effect, and they again urge that some remedy be found. Account of the cargo of the *Seahorse*. ($4\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Received overland August* 27, 1651.)

AGENT GREENHILL AND COUNCIL AT MASULIPATAM TO JAMES BRIDGMAN AND OTHERS IN BENGAL, FEBRUARY 25, 1651 (*O.C.* 2210).

The *Lioness* arrived here on December 27 and sailed for England January 20. Are now dispatching to them the *Transport*, with a cargo of goods invoiced at about 614 pagodas and estimated to yield 5,000 or 6,000 rupees. The vessel itself may be used to sail to and from Hūglī. They are doubtless aware that the Pegu factors have been instructed to raise money on their goods and transmit the proceeds by bills of exchange to Bengal. Should they be unable to do this, funds will still be forthcoming from debts due to Richard Potter, to the value of about 8,000 rupees, which he has authorized Bridgman to receive, agreeing to accept the money here as soon as advice is received of its recovery. Approve Brookhaven's instructions left with them, except as regards the details of the investment [*see* p. 45]. The caution money is to be accepted, if necessary, in lieu of the return of the borrowed ordnance. Mistakes in the invoice of the *Lioness*. A payment to Edward Stephens on account of wages to be entered in the Balasore books. Have sent three 'guze' [*gaz*] of scarlet cloth and 16 yards of gold and silver lace to be presented to Gabriel Boughton, 'whoe, being the

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Princes servant, wilbe doubtless a great help unto you to gaine his firmand, which wee cannot conjecture wilbe difficult to bee obteined, considering the very great present you have given already, farr in value exceeding what use to bee given in preceeding yeares'. Need not enjoin frugality, as Bridgman is aware that he agreed with the Company to accept a certain commission in lieu of all expenses, and the Company will probably disallow any immoderate outlay. 'Narrana' having complained that Netlam put him in irons and forced from him 246 rupees, an inquiry has been held and Netlam has been ordered to refund the money. They send accordingly 231½ rupees 'of the best sort', which are worth 6½ per cent. more than the ordinary kind and will therefore discharge the claim. Have just bought a quantity of iron and added it to the cargo. *PS.*— Have decided not to send the iron, as it is unsuitable for sale in the Bay. (*Copy.* 4 *pp.*)

AGENT GREENHILL AND MESSRS. YARDLEY, WINTER LEIGH, CHAMBER, AND DOUGHTY AT MASULIPATAM TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 28, 1651 (*O.C.* 2211).

Wrote last by the *Lioness*, which sailed January 19. Next dispatched their broker once more to the Nawāb at Gandikota, to learn what goods might be expected towards the lading of the next fleet and what price was to be fixed for those he had already supplied. The Agent then came by sea to this place, arriving February 9. Enclose transcripts of their proceedings, &c. [pp. 44, 47]. The *Transport* sailed yesterday for the Bay. Netlam is to be held responsible for deficiencies in bales from thence. The Company's house here in Masulipatam is in so bad a state that it must either be repaired or another bought or built. The rooms are dark and hot, and are besides so decayed and leaky that neither the living rooms nor the warehouses are safe. To amend this will cost at least 500*l.* or 600*l.*; but they will do nothing until advice from England. If the trade on the Coast is to be increased, 'not only this but Fort St. George must bee better accomodated with a waire-house and other conveyniancies, which now appeare more like imperfect and ruind heapes then either a fortt or factory appertaining to or becomeing the English nation'. If it be objected that their predecessors were satisfied with the factory here, 'wee answere that the

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upper roomes, being ready to fall, were long since pulled downe and not rebuilt; nor were there in those dayes such high houses of the Moores on each side to overpeere us, that none can stirr in the yard or act anything about the house but all lies open to publike veiw. In a word, tis such that, this great Governor comeing to visitt us since the Agents arrivall, wee had noe better place to receive him then a tent uppon the tarrace, to which hee must first assend by a ladder instead of a paire of staires.' The houses at Vīravāsaram and Petapoli (especially the latter) also need repair; but as the cost will not exceed 50*l.* or 60*l.*, the work has already been put in hand. A proper dwelling will be required in Bengal, with 'instruments for refining saltpetter', if that trade is to be continued. Greenhill expects to return to Fort St. George in about a month. By that time, it is hoped, the *Ruby* will be back from Pegu with a good cargo. If the Company will not send out small shipping for use in these waters, they should at all events supply men and stores; the vessels could then be provided here. It is strange that no reply has come from the Nawāb to the letter carried up by the Brahman. (2½ *pp. Received overland January* 2, 1652.)

RICHARD DAVIDGE AND THOMAS ANDREWS AT AGRA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 8, 1651 (*O.C.* 2212).

Davidge has already advised his taking leave of the King and receiving a dagger and a horse. For the former he gave the usual receipt to the 'droga [*dāroghā*, or chief] of the Kings jewell house'; but two days later Khalīl Khān intimated that the King wished the dagger to be sent to 'the cheife Governor in England' and the receipt must be amended accordingly. Davidge therefore gave a receipt in the name of 'William Cockeine, Governor (or Sirdare) for the Honourable English Company', thinking it better to do it in this way, 'least the Kinge (who understands not what is a Company) should have binn to inquisitive into things whereof Richard Davidge should have beene unprovided of answeare'. He next on January 30 went to take leave of Prince Dārā Shikoh, from whom he received a dagger for the President and a 'sirpaw' for himself. 'The dagger is of verey neate workmanshipp, the handle of cristall garnished with gold studded with rubees (whereof one a ferey [i.e. very] fayre one), and the sheath sett with gold allsoe studed with rubies; it

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beeing in our judgments not much inferior in vallew to that given by the Kinge, allthough there bee noe dymonds on it. The Prince used to weare it himselfe; the favour therefore the greater.' The broadcloth being sold and all debts gathered in, Davidge prepared to depart. He would have paid a farewell visit to the Begum, but Haqīqat Khān pronounced this unnecessary, as Davidge 'had at his first comeinge taken leave of her, when he received a sirpaw, and that since noe bissinesse had happned to have recouerse unto her'. Khalīl Khān gave him a horse (worth about 300 rupees), which shall be disposed of as may be directed. After taking leave of other friends, Davidge left Delhi on February 13 'with honour and reputation', and reached Agra eight days later. The debt of 'Zeruphden Hussene' [Sharafuddīn Ḥusain] was settled in 1647. Particulars of indigo bought at Biāna, Khurja, and Agra. No borax will be provided. Andrews apologizes for sundry omissions and for sending an express to Surat with his private letters for England. Davidge trusts that the best construction will be placed on his own expressions, as he much desires to retain their good opinion. In his last letter he advised the procrastination of Sadullah Khān over the promised *parwānas*. As a last resource, he drew up a petition to the Khān (as is now the custom of those having business with him), soliciting three *parwānas*, the first for Surat, the second 'for Tallgame,[1] where our Lucknow caphilles received trouble for radarres', and the third for recovery of the three carts stolen (the district in which this occurred having just been transferred from Jafar Khān to Sadullah Khān). The two latter were granted at once 'in ample forme'; but the one drawn for Surat was quite unacceptable, 'it beeing only that the Governer of Surrat should in all points obey the firmand'; and so Davidge declined to receive it. He complained to Khalīl Khān, who thereupon gave him the accompanying *parwāna* to Mīrza Arab, 'adviseing him to give you all content in your busseinesse, and not to send up any goods to the court, but to conclude a price there at Suratt'. This is all that can be got, and probably it will serve the purpose, as it is the general opinion here that the *farmān* only meant that articles of special rarity should be sent up to court, and these cases are not likely to occur often; while the way in which Muizz-ul-Mulk has been dealt with will

[1] Probably Tālgrām, in Farrukhābād district.

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probably deter other Governors from imitating his behaviour. Davidge could not 'have donne more or better, had his reputation and life beene engaged therein'; so he trusts that his endeavours will be found acceptable. Sadullah Khān refused to take back the *farmān*, and instructions are therefore requested as to its disposal. The *parwāna* for 'Tallgonne' has been sent to Jesson; and that for the recovery of the three carts has been given to Anantī Dās, who has been dispatched to the spot for that purpose. Khalīl Khān gave Davidge a letter to Rājā Chhatarsāl, acquainting him that the King had given a positive order that the debt should be satisfied; and this will be forwarded shortly 'by a Hendowe [i.e. Hindū], rather then by Allabux [Allah-Bakhsh], that cast beeing more wellcome amongst the Baraes[1] then Moores.' Cannot discover from the accounts here what the efforts to recover the debt have cost. Have now only seven bales of broadcloth left; a further supply may therefore be sent up, though the quantity proposed may possibly have the effect of lowering the price. Acknowledge the receipt of bills of exchange for 50,000 rupees. Such 'remises' [i.e. remittances] tend to raise the Company's credit, and the factors have of late found the shroffs very willing to serve them, some even showing reluctance to receive back the money borrowed from them. It is intended, nevertheless, to discharge as many of the debts as possible. With regard to indigo, the Hindaun merchants, having sold part of their store at 46 rupees [per maund], have decided to keep the rest until next year. Agree that there is no reason why the Dutch should have the benefit of the English factors' labours without contributing to the charge; but as nothing was bought at Hindaun or Biāna, and the Dutch have not demanded their share of the Khurja indigo, there has been no opportunity of raising the question. The Governor of Lawālī desires to compound for the amounts previously exacted for *rāhdārī*; and this they have agreed to permit, provided he will give a written undertaking not to trouble them in future. Should he demur to this, they are confident that Prince Dārā or his *Dīwān* will see the matter put right; for when Davidge took leave of the latter, 'the said Barramull did intreate him to write unto you in the Princes behalfe for the conserveinge of the trade of his Bunder

[1] Probably a copyist's error either for 'Rajaes' or for 'Haraes'. As chief of Būndī, Chhatarsāl was head of the Hāra sept of the Chauhān Rājputs.

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Larree', and was told in reply that nothing would be wanting on the part of the English, 'provided hee made good his promise of making vallable the Princes neshanes; whereunto Baramull condisended.' Will do their best to check the dishonesty of their house servants. Two caravans have arrived from Lucknow with about 150 bales of goods. As the factors there appear to be very busy, Rawdon has been sent to assist them; he started on the 3rd, taking with him for his own use the horse presented by Khalīl Khān. Have contracted for 200 camels to carry their goods to Ahmadābād at $15\frac{3}{16}$ rupees per camel's lading, and trust to dispatch the caravan by the end of this month. No other will be sent down before the rains. Note the orders for the prevention of private trade, and have sent a copy to Jesson, who has also been asked to supply the 'Dereabauds' required. The rest, viz., 'cossaes, allaja Malda, and Luckourees[1] (commonly called ambertees)', they hope to provide here, though in the case of the last-named the prices listed are too low. Before leaving Delhi, Davidge heard that 'the Prince Oran Zeab had deserted makeinge of a seaport,[2] because hee had found it inaccessable for shippinge of any reasonable burthen. How the eldest Prince toke his enterprize, hee could never learne. This is certayne, that the said Prince Oran Zeab beares the eldest Prince a great deale of respect, and verey submissive he is unto him; but that may [be] in outward shewe before the Kinge, it beeing the custome of all these great ones (therefore much more of the Princes) to demeane themselves farre otherwise at their jaggers [districts: *jāgīr*] then at the court.' No saltpetre has yet been received, 'the petermen beinge growne verey villans, allthough they excuse themselves because of late raynes'. None can be sent down by this caravan, and it is feared that the full quantity ordered will not be procurable. Have better hopes of sugar, the price of which at present does not exceed 60 rupees for ten maunds, while good crops are expected. The Arab horse was sold for 300 rupees to one of the King's *dāroghās* in Delhi, who could not be refused, because he had been helpful in the sale of broadcloth; the amount paid, however, was the full value of the horse. Dhanjī's widow and children are

[1] Lukhawur, south of Patna, was the centre for this cloth; see the 1618–21 volume, p. 192.

[2] This statement seems to have been premature (see p. 10).

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wrangling over his estate. Entreat an early decision as to his successor in the post of broker. Anantī Dās has just returned, bringing an answer from 'the fouzdarre Sheak Abdall Nubby'[1] (to whom Sadullah Khān's *parwāna* was addressed), to the effect that he was at present busy 'in gatheringe some rents from some rebellious pessants', but would attend to the matter when he reached the place where the robbery was committed. Will address him again shortly; meanwhile copies of the *parwāna* and of his answer are forwarded. Enclose also letters from the Lucknow factors, stating that they have valued all the remains, and giving information as to the progress of their investments. Davidge has already obtained permission to return for England; but he begs that an earlier date may be fixed for closing his accounts, and that he may be informed to whom he is to hand over charge. (*Copy.* 10¼ *pp.* *Received March* 28.)

COMMISSION AND INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COMPANY TO CAPTAIN JEREMY BLACKMAN, MARCH 14, 1651 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 191).

He is appointed President for Surat and its dependencies, for five years from the date of embarkation. 'Although it is a gennerall rule that noe merchant or factors sallary beginneth till their arriveall in India and ceaseth at their coming thence,' yet for his encouragement and to show their respect for him they agree that his salary of 500*l.* shall commence from his departure and last until his return; and he is further permitted to take with him in the *Eagle* his wife and son, with two men and two women servants, whose charges at Surat will be borne by the Company. This favour has only been granted before to Aaron Baker, President at Bantam, and it is hoped that Blackman will show his gratitude by increased devotion to the Company's interests. To his son John they have allowed a salary of 10*l.* per annum for three years: to his servant John Revinton,[2] 20*l.* per annum for a like period: and to his servant John Tyrrwhitt, 10*l.* per annum for apparel until his abilities are ascertained. All these salaries are to commence from arrival in India and to cease

[1] The *faujdār*, Shaikh Abdul Nabī.

[2] In *Court Minutes*, 1650–54 (p. 87), the name is given as Henry Revington, and this is confirmed by other documents. Similarly, for *John* we must read *William* Tyrrwhitt (*Ibid.*, p. 95).

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at departure. As Blackman is leaving his other son behind, he is allowed to take in his stead Thomas Hare, who is to be provided with diet at the Company's charge but no salary, 'till his deserts may merritt the same'. If on arrival Blackman finds Merry President at Surat, the latter is to be allowed to retain his post until he departs or voluntarily surrenders it. Letters have, however, been written to Merry to return by the next ship, and thereupon Blackman will enter upon his office. He is reminded of his undertaking not to trade in any prohibited commodities, or to allow others to do so. All such private trade should be seized, and those guilty of it should be sent home. Unnecessary factories should be withdrawn, and the expense of the rest curtailed as much as possible. Should Blackman consider it desirable, after dispatching the vessel for England, to visit the island of Assada, he must not quit Surat without the concurrence of his Council. The charges brought by Lewis against Codrington should be investigated. Blackman is also to see to the fair apportionment of charges between the Fourth Joint Stock and the Second General Voyage. Strict attention to religious duties is enjoined; any of the Company's servants failing in this respect should be sent back to England. On his way out, Blackman is to touch at Assada, 'to give directions how our affaires in that plantation may be carried on', and letters have been written to the Governor accordingly. (*Rough copy.* $4\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT GOMBROON, MARCH 22, 1651 (*O.C.* 2214).

Note the favourable reception by the King of the present delivered to him by Lewis and Wycherley, and His Majesty's many expressions of his affection for the English; but do not find that any immediate benefit has resulted, except the grant of a *farmān* exempting them from way-dues throughout his dominions, and this is not likely to be of more advantage to the Company than former grants of the same nature. Regret that Lewis was not more definite in his answer to the proposals of the Itimād-uddaula, though these advances were perhaps only intended 'to make their despight unto the Dutch more noteable'. The suggestion that the King would much resent a refusal to carry his servants and silk to England need not be taken too seriously, as other demands of equal importance

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have previously been refused without any evil consequences. Lewis should therefore assure the Itimād-uddaula that the President and Council are grateful for the King's favour and trust in its continuance, pointing out, however, that the privileges enjoyed by the English are no greater than those conceded to the Dutch, who have ill requited His Majesty, 'and peradventure would attempt some thinge elce, if they feared not to offend us thereby.' He should remind him that the King's great-grandfather, Shāh Abbās, in return for the assistance afforded him in capturing Ormus, granted the English a moiety of the Gombroon customs on all imported goods, but, owing to the ill-dealing of his officials, the amount received is not one-fifth of their share, and all complaints have been disregarded; it is hoped, therefore, that His Majesty will now compel the Shāh-bandar to pay the factors their full share. Lewis may further promise that the Company will gladly send the King from England any rarities he may be pleased to specify. As regards transporting his servants or silk in the homeward-bound ships, this is impossible at present, as only one vessel is destined for England, and their own goods and passengers will more than fill her; moreover, such a concession cannot be granted without permission from the Company, who will be duly advised of the King's wishes in the next letter. To the Itimād-uddaula's last demand, answer should be returned 'that it is death by our nationall lawes for any one to attempt the carryeing forth of any virgins, youthes, or others, and therefore not to bee undertaken by any person whatsoever without hazard (if hee attempt it) and loss of his life if hee bee discovered'. The factors must do their utmost to dissuade the Itimād-uddaula from sending either merchants or silk to Surat in the hope of transport to England, for this will certainly not be granted without licence from the Company. (*Extract.* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT MERRY AND MESSRS. PEARCE AND OXENDEN AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 8, 1651 (*O.C.* 2216).

Wrote last by the *Seahorse*, which sailed February 24, ten days before the two Dutch ships also bound for Basra. The present letter goes by the *Falcon* in the same way. No overland advices have yet been received from the Company, and, unless some arrive from Gombroon by the *Assada Merchant*, it is feared that none can

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be expected until October or November. The indigo investment at Agra and Lucknow has come so far short of expectation that the factors have only been able to procure 169 bales, and those at a higher price than last year; while that portion bought at Biāna is admitted to be inferior, owing to the crop being spoilt by want of rain. It has been decided, therefore, to keep back here 124 bales of last year's stock, which otherwise would have been sent to Basra; so that a good quantity will be available for England, if required. Further, they are providing a quantity of indigo at Ahmadābād, which, though of poorer quality than last year, is so cheap that, if not wanted for England, it can be sold to profit at Basra or Gombroon. The calico investments at Agra and Lucknow are in great forwardness. The full quantity of 'browne clothe' is believed to be on its way hither, and will be 'cured' at Broach, because the Persia factors complain of the 'cureing' of former cloths at Baroda. On receipt, a careful examination will be made of the goodness and dimensions, but so much stress has been laid on these points in the instructions to the Lucknow factors that no shortcoming is expected. Progress of the calico investment for Gombroon; also in purchases at Lucknow and Agra for next season's supplies to England, though there is some doubt whether the desired quantity of saltpetre will be procurable. Davidge's stay at court was protracted by the necessity of clearing Muizz-ul-Mulk's debt, which would have been wholly lost had he not been there; refer for details to his letters. His expenses and presents amount to a considerable sum; but it is hoped that these will be counterbalanced by the savings effected as a result of the *farmāns* procured, and by the profit made on the broadcloth he sold. He has been instructed to persevere in the recovery of compensation for last year's robbery and also in the matter of the tapestry debt. On taking leave he was presented with 'a small girdle dagger' for the Governor of the Company and also with a horse. The latter may not be sold, 'for that wilbe ill taken by the King'; so it has been ordered to be reserved for the use of the chief at Agra, in lieu of one which is to be sold. As Davidge complained very much of the expense to which he had been put in his mission, he has been allowed (subject to the sanction of the Company) a gratuity of 400 rupees, which is the value of the horse presented to him. The Prince also gave him

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a 'vestment' for himself and a dagger for the President. Merry hopes to bring both daggers home himself in the next fleet, and trusts that the Company will then allow him to retain the one presented by the Prince, especially as they have cut down his salary to half that enjoyed by the Bantam President.[1] Another horse was given to Davidge by Khalīl Khān and has been sent to Lucknow, where they will order it to be sold. As Davidge desires to return home, Jesson will be transferred from Lucknow to Agra. Recommend that the latter may be allowed the same salary as Davidge from the time he takes up his employment at Agra. Burnell will succeed Jesson at Lucknow, and they think he should then be given the same wages as his predecessor. The remaining factors in those parts are Andrews (who is to be second at Agra), Swinnerton (to be second at Lucknow), Rawdon, Swallow, and Purchas; and they trust that these also 'may not escape your consideration'. On March 18 a caravan was sent to Agra from this place, under the charge of Swinnerton and others, carrying a quantity of broadcloth and coral on account of the United Joint Stock, the latter commodity having been turned over to that account at the rates at which it was invoiced from England. It had been offered to Vīrjī Vōra, but declined by him, on the ground that he already had more on hand than he knew how to dispose of, having recently bought a large quantity from the Dutch. Ten more chests of coral have been dispatched to the Coromandel Coast in the *Aleppo Merchant* at the request of the factors there. No more should be sent out unless it may be sold at a much lower rate. With the 'caphilla' [caravan: *qāfila*] already mentioned, they dispatched to Ahmadābād a consignment of *rūnās* and quicksilver. The investments at that place for Mokha, Basra, and Bantam are now finished, and the factors are in hand with a new investment for Bantam to be ready against the autumn. For the present they are only busy with the 'puttolaes' [*see the previous volume, p.* 161], 'which require a long time', and the 'chints', which 'must bee wrought in a dry time, for in time of raines the chinters cannot worke, the water being then too thick and fowle'. Other sorts of 'clothing' can be more quickly procured, and advices from Bantam will be awaited before proceeding further.

[1] Aaron Baker had been given a salary of 500*l.* and a further allowance of 100*l.* in consideration of his abstaining from private trade (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 21).

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The Ahmadābād factors are purchasing indigo and negotiating for a large quantity of saltpetre; but it is doubtful whether any good sugar can be had either there or here. Hope, however, to procure sufficient cargo to lade home two ships next season. Further investments at Ahmadābād for Mokha and Basra will be made before the rains, 'when cloth is cheapest'. Goods intended to be purchased at Surat. Markets here are so dull at present that an additional quantity of broadcloth has been sent to Persia for sale. The investments made in Sind this year are as large as, or larger than, those of last year. The markets at Gombroon have of late been exceedingly dull; but the factors have managed to sell a good quantity of cotton cloth, some at a loss, some at a fair profit; the real yield is obscured in the Persia accounts by the fact that 'the rupee is invoiced to them at $2\frac{1}{2}$ instead of $2\frac{1}{4}$ m[ahmūdī]s, which differeth 10 per cent.' Some of these calicoes were taken at Agra in truck for broadcloth, but this has now been forbidden. The Gombroon factors are doing their best to dispose of their remaining stock, 'out of their feare of the Spahan marketts, in absence of the King, who (by report) was either gon or shortly to goe from thence on some designe, pretended to bee the securing of Candahar; which hee neede not to feare, if his intelligence bee any thing at all out of India, for wee heere not of any preparation in hand by this King for its recovery back.' For these and other reasons, the factors are anxious to sell their goods at Gombroon rather than to transport them to Ispahān, even though they may have to accept payment of the proceeds in the latter place, owing to the scarcity of money at Gombroon. Arrangements made for turning over to the United Joint Stock the remains at that place. The Persia factors are being directed to advise the Company overland of all their proceedings. Lewis's letter to England from Ispahān rather overestimates the profit made there on the Agra calicoes, seeing that charges of transport, duties, &c., cannot amount to less than 40 to 45 per cent. on prime cost; still, this leaves about 35 per cent. net profit at Ispahān. Fear that prices will be much lower this season. As regards the 'motions' made by the Itimād-uddaula, the enclosed paper [*see* p. 54] will show what instructions have been given to the factors. Request the Company's views on these matters. Should the factors ask for dogs or other

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articles for presents, the trouble and expense of sending them will probably be amply rewarded. The lease of the house at Gombroon is now expired, and the factors there desire permission to buy a piece of ground and build thereon, the King having given them leave to do so. The cost they put at not less than 300 tūmāns, but they say that, if they bought their present dwelling and then repaired it, the expense would not be less, in view of its decayed condition. The Company's orders must be awaited before such an expenditure can be sanctioned, and meanwhile the factors have been advised to agree with their present landlords for a further tenancy for two or three years. Whether it be decided to buy this one or build a new factory, it would certainly be cheaper to expend 300 tūmāns outright than to pay 50 or 60 per annum for rent, as (it is understood) has been done for the last three years. Should the factors be turned out of their present home, which is very conveniently situated, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain another on the sea-front, while within the town the houses are inconvenient and unhealthy. Urge increases of salary for Lewis and Best, who are very ill paid at 30*l.* and 24*l.* per annum respectively. The former has intimated privately his intention of returning to England, and Best may follow his example, unless he is given some encouragement to remain. The employment is a very chargeable one and involves much travelling, 'besides the dainger of that pestilent port of Gombrone'. Fear that not only these but other experienced servants will leave the service unless they are better remunerated, and this would be of grave consequence. Recommend the Company in future, when men are entertained 'on meane sallarys, to make it anually riseing'. The *Aleppo Merchant* arrived from Gombroon on March 11. Her commander, Benjamin Peters, died on the 24th, and was buried the same afternoon 'on Swally sands, amongst many other commaunders of ships and other Englishmen'. The purser, Mr. Garrett, and the chief mate, Thomas Rickman, have taken charge of his estate. Peters had informed them that Rickman was to succeed him in the command of the ship; but, although a careful search was made, no document could be found except his 'sea commission (for soe wee take it to bee), engrossed in parchment, with a greate seale anexed thereunto, wherein there was noe successor nominated'. However, no opposition was manifested when

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the President and Council went on board and established Rickman as commander. The vessel sailed on March 26 for Gombroon with a good lading, besides freight and passengers producing over 42,000 mahmūdīs (which shows 'how sightly and large shipps are esteemed'). It is hoped that she will leave Gombroon for the Coast by the end of the present month; there she is to be freighted either for Persia or for this place, in the latter case touching at Goa. On March 20 the *Lanneret* returned from Damān, where she has been repaired at a cost of about 8,000 mahmūdīs; and eight days later she sailed for Mokha. It had been intended that on her return she should lie in wait near Rājāpur for the Deccan jūnks, in order to take out of them as much as would compensate for the cloth landed out of the *Golden Fleece* and seized at that place; but as she had no more than thirty men and boys on board, of whom only two-thirds were efficient, this idea was abandoned, and Reynardson and Gollofer, the two merchants sent in her, were ordered either to lade her with coffee or to take freight goods, and so proceed to Basra. On her return she is to call at 'Bunder Lahree' to bring away the goods there provided. On March 20 arrived also the *Expedition* from Gombroon. She is still a leaky ship and will probably have to be repaired at Bantam, for which place she sailed on April 2. Details of her cargo. She carried also some *rūnās*, to be landed at Rājāpur for sale, and was to touch at Goa to fetch away two sailors who deserted her there last December. Nothing has been heard from Bantam since last August, though several Dutch ships have reached this place from Batavia; but it is stated that the *Golden Fleece* has arrived at Bantam, and that the *William* was not far behind her. On March 31 the *Falcon* came in from Gombroon, bringing news that the *Bonito* had reached that port on March 12. The *Falcon* has now been reladen for Basra, and is on her return to touch at Gombroon. The *Assada Merchant* is intended to be sent with rice and calico to the Coast of 'Malinda,' Nicholas Buckeridge going in charge of the cargo. Forward a packet of letters received from the Coromandel Coast. Have heard that Morse's sailors after his death divided his estate amongst them, and have offered the *Friendship* for sale. Nothing has been done in the matter of the goods of the *Ruth*. A letter was written to Lloyd on February 10, but no answer has

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yet been received; while Benī Dās, whom they had proposed to send to 'the King of Decan or Vegepore' about the matter, has fallen from his horse and lamed one of his feet. Moreover, he seems very loth to undertake the mission, arguing that it will much injure the Company's reputation to appear as claimants in the matter, for 'it hath for your indempnity bin alwaies pleaded, by all that had relacion unto you, how that the said traders were a society of themselves, noe way relateing unto you, or you unto them, in matter of trade'. It would be much better for the gentlemen interested to 'sett forth a ship (and shee rather to weare the cullors[1] which are knowne among the Decanners then otherwise), thereby to right themselves by seazure and then to accoumpt with that King or his people for all, both the Esquires and their owne losses'. *PS.*—Wrote in their last that Captain Durson was understood to intend proceeding from Bengal to England. Now, however, they learn that his *Loyalty* 'runn aground in the bottom of the Bay, att a spring tyde and on quicksands, where shee sate forsaken by all or most of the English men, and never like to come of, but more likely to bury herselfe in the said sands, if shee beate not to peeces'. This story Roger Griffin, master of the *Falcon*, heard at Gombroon from John May, who was lent out of the *Lioness* to the Governor of Hūglī and was employed by him as pilot of a junk of his. It is strange, however, that nothing is said of this by the Coast Agent in his letter of February 28. Forgot to mention that George Penn, who brought letters from the Company last year, borrowed a sum of money of their Basra broker. This the factors there have been ordered to repay and to advise the Company of the exact amount, in order that it may be deducted from any sum that Penn may claim on reaching England. He left this place for Gombroon in the *Falcon* at the beginning of the monsoon, declaring his intention of proceeding thence to Basra and Aleppo; but they have heard since that he remains at Gombroon, buying and selling, and (according to report) 'intends to take up his habitacion as a trader twixt that port and Bussora'.[2] (1$6\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Received overland January* 2, 1652.)

[1] The English Union flag, which Charles I had permitted to be used by Courteen's Association. The Company's vessels used St. George's flag.

[2] A list of the packet in which this letter was enclosed will be found under *O.C.* 2217.

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DANIEL ELDER AND CHRISTOPHER OXENDEN AT BASRA TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 21, 1651 (*O.C.* 2218).

Arrived here in the *Seahorse* five days ago. Have as yet sold nothing, for the merchants, not expecting any ship so early, are not come down: but it is hoped that they will do so without delay, as the Dutch are following with two ships and a large quantity of goods. 'Hassan Bashaw being established by the Grand Signor in his fathers territories, wee finde him very reddy to continew those favours towards our nation as his father did before him; who some two dayes since sent to congratulate the respect hee heard wee had with his master the Grand Signor, whoe had expeld the Venetion, French, and Duch and only given leave for the English for free trade; which if not treu, wee wish hee may retayne the opinion of its treuth, that soe hee might still continew his respects to us, and the Duch at theire arrivall may finde the like entertainment from him as his master is reported to have given them.' The Company's letters had been forwarded to Gombroon fifteen days before the arrival of the *Seahorse*. (1 *p. Received overland August* 27.)

JOHN LEWIS, THOMAS BEST, AND MATTHEW ANDREWS AT GOMBROON TO THE COMPANY, MAY 8, 1651 (*O.C.* 2219).

Wrote last from Ispahān on December 16. Now send copies of that and of two subsequent letters to Surat; also an abstract of sales, account of freight received, &c. Lewis represents his own claims to an increase of salary, and also those of Best and Wycherley. Andrews, Park, and Henry Nokes deserve similar encouragement. Are now preparing to proceed to Ispahān with such goods as remain on hand. Arrangements for turning over the property of the old stock to the United Joint Stock. The *farmāns* obtained from the King cost a considerable sum, 'through the extortinge exaccions of his hungry officers'; yet it is hoped they will justify the expense, and already the factors have obtained as much additional money on account of their share of the Gombroon customs as equals the value of the presents given to the King and to the Itimād-uddaula. It is true that this has only been effected by adding ten tūmāns to the bribe annually given to the Shāhbandar; but the resulting increase,

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and the fact that it may 'prove examplory to his successors', will justify the outlay, seeing that the English share has this year been advanced to 750 tūmāns. Part of this was remitted to Surat by the *Assada Merchant*, which sailed on April 2, carrying with her over 7,000*l.*, besides a quantity of rūnās and freight yielding about 46 tūmāns. Although for the present, 'through the distemper of our unhappie tymes in England', they are forced to accept what they can get as the English share of the customs, they trust some day to find a remedy. Will obey the instructions received from Surat as to the answer to be returned to the King and the Itimād-uddaula concerning the plan of sending silk to England; but fear that the King will be hardly well pleased with such a refusal. However, they hope to mitigate his anger by presenting a couple of mastiffs brought by the *Aleppo Merchant* and *Bonito*. The articles formerly written for should still be sent, 'since more is by Miershecall Bashee[1] in his behalfe required, such novelties better takinge with this young gallant Emperour then matters of greater concernement'. Account of eleven Dutch ships that arrived here this monsoon, with details of their cargoes, amounting to 32,000 tūmāns. On February 20 came in a junk from Hūglī, piloted by John May, formerly master's mate of the *Lioness*. He brought a letter from Bridgman and the other factors there resident, desiring some Persian horses for 'the Prince of that place'; so a couple were shipped in the junk, which sailed again on April 10. From the Coast arrived the *Bonito*, with Paul Waldegrave as merchant; she departed on her return voyage April 16. On the 4th ditto, two Dutch ships anchored here, and after four days resumed their voyage to Basra, where they will probably find themselves forestalled by the *Seahorse*. Sergeant-Major Hartley arrived in the *Assada Merchant* to take passage for the Coast in the *Bonito*, but after some fifty days' continuance here, he died of fever. Death of Philip Butler, a deserter from the *Bonito*. When that ship sailed, Waldegrave was dangerously ill. The *Aleppo Merchant* came in on April 17 with a small

[1] The *Mīr Shikār Bāshī*, or head huntsman, who was a special favourite with the King. See *Journaal der Reis van . . . Joan Cunaeus*, edited by A. Hotz (Amsterdam, 1908), pp. 70, 159. In a later letter (*O.C.* 2237) this official is referred to as the 'powerfull favorite, Mersheecull Bashee, or master of the game'. Some account of him (and also of Muhammad Beg, the Itimād-uddaula) will be found in Tavernier (*Les Six Voyages*, 1676, vol. i, pp. 554, 569).

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cargo but a large amount of freight. Money advanced to her purser. Two days later the Company's letters arrived from Basra, and after perusal were forwarded to Surat next day in a junk. Note the caution given regarding the Portuguese.[1] Have now sold their stock of 'Derriabauds and Luckowrees' to Mīrzā Khān, thinking this course more profitable than to carry them to Ispahān. 'Some small Portugall vessells have this monzoone arrived heere from Goa and Damon, laden with matters of very little import, as rice, ginger, turmericke, pepper, and some cynamon; beinge in theise parts growne a most declyned misserable people, and not any wayes in our judgments in any capacitie of either vexinge you or your servants; whilst the Arrabs of Muskatt soe much awe them with vessells which they have taken from them, and their owne trancketts [*see the* 1642–45 *volume*, p. 273], that they dare not at this tyme pass in the Gulph, though they are (as they tearme themselves) an Armadoe [2] (besides theise merchantmen) of six garrobs,[3] reasonable well mand. This Kinge is dayly expected in Shyraze, as severall dayes since wee have had newes heere. And from thence tis supposed he will send an army against Bossora, whose Bashaw (as rumor speaks) will willingly without blowes surrender itt, as rather chusinge to be under the subjection of this monarch then the Great Turck, to whome at this tyme he is tributarie.' There is no talk of any fresh attack from India on Kandahār. That route is not yet opened again, though recently a caravan got through by stealth. Hartley left no will; so his effects will be realized and the proceeds remitted to Surat. Have not much hope of selling their broadcloth at Ispahān, as they learn that vast quantities have been brought thither from Aleppo by Armenians and others. Have remitted their cash to Ispahān by exchange, at a profit of five per cent. Are obliged to leave some goods behind in charge of their broker, for want of camels. The lease of their house is expired. The building is so rotten, owing to the earthquake of six years ago [*see the* 1642–45 *volume*, p. 266], that they cannot sleep in safety; and they therefore

[1] The Company had probably informed their servants of the possibility of a war with Portugal, owing to the action of the latter in permitting Prince Rupert to take shelter in the Tagus.

[2] A fleet of war vessels (*armada*).

[3] Arabic *ghorāb*, originally applied to a galley, but later denoting a sailing vessel with two or three masts.

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beg permission to buy this or some other piece of ground on which to erect a suitable dwelling. *PS.* (May 9)—Have just concluded a fresh agreement with their landlord for two years (ending April, 1653), for which they have paid 50 tūmāns, as against 45 for the last two years. (*Copy.* 9 *pp.* *Received December* 3.)

DANIEL ELDER, WILLIAM WEALE, AND CHRISTOPHER OXENDEN AT BASRA TO THE COMPANY, JULY 4, 1651 (*O.C.* 2162).[1]

Wrote last on April 21. The arrival of the Dutch ships has greatly hindered the sale of the writers' stock, and little or no profit is to be looked for this season. Moreover, many junks are being attracted hither, owing to the good markets experienced last year. The Company's letters for Surat, dated September 12 [1650], were received here at the end of May, when no conveyance was available; but they will be forwarded at the first opportunity. The *Falcon* arrived on June 19. Letters from Surat for the Company are sent herewith. (1 *p.* *Received overland January* 2, 1652.)

THOMAS CODRINGTON AT ISPAHĀN TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 15, 1651 (*O.C.* 2222).[2]

Complains of Lewis's action in detaining some money of his; also that a letter he wrote to the Company was opened and kept back. Has now sent a fresh one overland. Denies a report that he has turned Roman Catholic, though he is refused admission to the Company's house and not allowed to attend prayers, except on base conditions; nay, he has been forced to 'fly into sanctuary' and all unjust means used to make him turn Moor. *PS.*—Sends this under cover to the French padre in Surat, as he would not trust it to Englishmen. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

JOHN LEWIS, THOMAS BEST, AND MATTHEW ANDREWS AT ISPAHĀN TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 15, 1651 (*O.C.* 2224).

Best and Park are now about to go down to Gombroon, with such money as there is in hand. Details of sales of piece-goods. Husain Beg, who was Shāhbandar of Gombroon two years ago, has now

[1] A copy will be found among the *O.C. Duplicates.*

[2] Another copy forms *O.C.* 2223.

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been appointed to succeed the present occupant. 'Of those Armenians which lost theire goods on our nacions shippinge, wee heare nothing more then complaints of their bad fortune. But few dayes since was with us two Jelpaleenes,[1] whose vackelles [agents: *wakīl*] had embarqued some silck etc. on a French vessell[2] which in her voyage from Smirna to Livorne [Leghorn] was seized on by English shippinge; and they did implore our letters unto you in theire behalves, that theire addresses may be made known unto the State of England in such manner as you shall thinck fitt, either from the Companie or otherwise. From this Kinge they are now procuringe a letter, which will be inscribed unto ours (for yett they know not but wee have one) touching this affaire, and will be imediately by a vackeele sent for England per viam Smirna. Indeede theire case is most pittifull, heerin consistinge theire whole livelywhood and substance, beinge men of good repute and quallitie; and indeede, if restoracion heereof be not made, peradventure some inconvenience may heereby accrew unto the Companie in theise parts.' Particulars of the losses. The French ship's captain was named 'Howder'. Will make sparing use of the permission accorded to give presents to their friends at court. Are now about to offer one to 'Miershecall Bashee [*see* p. 63], who is the onely present favouritt of the Kinge'. The business concerning sending the King's merchants and silk to England has been brought to a good conclusion, as will be seen from the enclosed correspondence with the Itimād-uddaula [*see O.C.* 2221]. The news of the Armenians' losses came opportunely to confirm Lewis's allegations of the disturbed state of Europe, and moreover increased the respect in which the English were held here. 'God send us more of theise vindicacions, for indeede wee want them.' Itimād-uddaula's last letter 'gave order that at the feast of Ramazoone[3] (few dayes past) I shold repaire to court (about six leagues off) to kiss the Kings foote. When I carried my great dogg with me, that gave more content unto His Majestie (who askd his age) then the Dutches

[1] Possibly from the Turkish *Julfali*, an inhabitant of Julfa, the Armenian suburb of Ispahān.

[2] The French ship appears to have been the *St. Martin*, commanded by Michael Andrick: see the *Cal. of Domestic State Papers*, 1651, pp. 458, 460, and 1651–52, p. 120.

[3] The *Īdu-Ramazān*, or festival of the breaking of the fast, fell in 1651 on September 7 (O.S.).

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liberall pishcash,[1] which they speake (but I thinck extravigantly) was worth 500 tomands; and notwithstandinge this, and presentinge all the greate ones, I had the honnour to be called into the Majaliess[2] before him, to theire more then ordinary vexacion' More mastiffs would be very welcome. The one Lewis presented was taken from the *Bonito* and belonged to Edward Winter. That sent from Surat is still at Gombroon for want of convenient transport. Have extended their lease of the Gombroon house for two years, the landlord undertaking to keep it in repair and 'build another necessary place for us'. Movements of shipping. A little while ago they thought they would not be troubled by Mīr Jumla's goods (on which the Company's share of the customs would have to be remitted), since his junk, after a most tedious voyage, arrived at 'Guoder' [Gwādar, on the Makrān coast], where, it was reported, she would land her goods; now, however, they hear that she is coming on to Gombroon. The Company's caution regarding the Portuguese was communicated to the captain of the *Aleppo Merchant*. Send a letter for the Coast Agent; also inventories of the estates of Major Hartley and of Henry Nokes. The latter died at 'Assapass' [Asūpas] after a short sickness. Andrews, Best, and Pärk are much out of health, and the first-named begs to be transferred to a better climate. Money advanced for the purchase of provisions for the *Aleppo Merchant*. The Itimād-uddaula desires to be furnished with some 'fine Holland'. It is reported that Shāh Jahān will again attack Kandahār in the spring. Forward their accounts; the charges therein for house expenses may seem excessive, but this is due to the high cost of provisions. Cannot say why Pitt dismissed 'Carra Chawne' [Qara Khān] from the Company's service in Shīrāz and installed 'Vincentia' in his place, unless it was out of charity to the latter. He is an honest and industrious man, and, being poor, they deprecate his removal. The Company's house in Shīrāz is in much need of repair, which will cost upwards of ten tūmāns; they have therefore imposed a rent of five tūmāns per annum 'on our wineman',[3] and intend to use the money for that purpose. One of

[1] See *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvii. no. 529.

[2] The assembly or court (*majlis*).

[3] Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*, vol. i. p. 55) notes that the English in Shīrāz were permitted to make wine for their own use. Cunaeus, on his way up to Ispahān in 1652,

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the chambers of the Ispahān house has fallen down, and its rebuilding will cost five or six tūmāns; but they will avoid all such expenditure as far as possible. Will report their proceedings to the Company before leaving for Gombroon. Cannot advise a fresh investment 'in theise miserable tymes'. Lewis renews his request to be allowed to go home next year. *PS.*—Hope to send the horses desired. Two of them are already in hand, including one presented to Lewis by the King. Have just heard, however, that a *farmān* has been issued, prohibiting the export of any horses 'without Miercor Bashees[1] first viewinge of them'; so it will be necessary to petition the Itimād-uddaula. The two still wanting Best is to provide in Shīrāz, 'where the Dutch is now buyinge of many.' (*Copy.* 6¾ *pp.*)

WILLIAM NETLAM AT MASULIPATAM TO PRESIDENT BAKER AT BANTAM, SEPTEMBER 17, 1651 (*O.C.* 2225).

Appeals for redress for injuries done to him some years ago, while in the Bay.[2] He was acting for a time as agent for Thomas Peniston, who, however, then gave authority to Robert Wright to take over his goods, &c., from Netlam. On their failing to agree in regard to the latter's accounts, the matter was referred to two Dutch merchants at Pipplī, who adjudged Netlam to pay 289 rupees to Peniston on account of an allowance made by the former on some tobacco bought by two Armenians. As Netlam did not pay, his goods at Masulipatam were seized at Wright's suggestion, and a protest was signed by Peniston and others. Later on, Wright sent a letter to Thomas Winter, desiring the release of Netlam's goods; but in the end Netlam was forced to pay 400¾ rupees to clear himself. He further complains that in May, 1644, he delivered to Peniston 100 rials of eight for an adventure to Macaó in the *Hind*, President Breton having put in 1,000 rials on Peniston's account. Netlam heard that a 'greatt returne' was made to Surat, but to the present time he has not received anything of his share. In September, 1648, he notified Peniston of his intention to complain, and he now demands justice. (2½ *pp.*)

met 'the English winemaker, named Vincent' (see above), on his way down to Gombroon with a caravan of Shīrāz wine (*Journal*, p. 43). See also Chardin (*Voyages*, ed. 1735, vol. ii. p. 204).

[1] The *Mīr Ākhur Bāshī*, or Master of the Horse.

[2] The events related seem to have taken place in 1646–47.

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DANIEL ELDER, WILLIAM WEALE, AND CHRISTOPHER OXENDEN AT BASRA TO THE COMPANY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1651 (*O.C.* 2226).

The Dutch are here, as elsewhere, spoiling the markets by underselling and by accepting bad rials, 'in respect that at theire port of Battavia there is noe difference made, but at Surratt 6½ per cent loss'. The *Lanneret* arrived on August 2 from Mokha with coffee, which has been sold at a reasonable profit. Enclose particulars of other goods disposed of. The *Falcon*, *Seahorse*, and *Lanneret* are to sail to-morrow, the first two for Surat and the third for Tatta. (¾ *p.*)

MESSRS. LEWIS, ANDREWS, AND WYCHERLEY AT ISPAHĀN TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 30, 1651 (*O.C.* 2227).

On the 24th Lewis was invited to dine with the Itimād-uddaula, who told him that it was the King's pleasure to sell the English all his silk. Lewis replied that he could not make any contract without permission from his superiors, but he would be glad to communicate to them any proposals His Majesty might make. He pointed out, however, that the Company had given over the silk trade owing to the great losses that were sustained through the unjust dealing of the late Itimād-uddaula and the long delays that took place before the delivery of the silk. To this no reply was made; but Lewis was desired to attend His Majesty's court on the following day. There he 'had the honnour to kiss his foote and eate with him; as after dinner to be called to a nearer distance, whilst Ettamon Dowlett reitterated his yesterdaies requiries in His Majesties behalfe'. Lewis replied as before, promising to acquaint the Company with these proposals; and was then dismissed. He had already tried to induce the Itimād-uddaula to state the terms on which an agreement would be made, but in vain; still, he is of opinion that, if the Company see fit to deal, a satisfactory arrangement could be concluded. The Dutch are carrying on their negotiations so secretly that nothing can be learnt, except that they are discontented because their bountiful present has not even obtained for them precedence over the English at court. Trade continues

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bad, no goods having been sold since they last wrote. Regret that the commander of the *Aleppo Merchant* did not wait for more freight. Send copies of letters &c. received from the Coast. Prices of goods here. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

AN ACCOUNT BY WILLIAM FAIRFAX OF CERTAIN MISCARRIAGES AT FORT ST. GEORGE, OCTOBER 13, 1651[1] (*Public Record Office: C.O.* 77, vol. vii. no. 17).

He relates that, being invited with the rest of the merchants to Edward Winter's house, the latter on his knees proposed prosperity to King Charles the Second and confusion to his enemies. Fairfax refusing to drink to the same, Winter drew his sword, but Fairfax perceived his intention and warded off the blows. Some weeks after, the same toast was proposed by Doughty, and on Fairfax again refusing to drink to it he was called a 'roage and a rascall', and told that all his friends were traitors. The said toast was honoured by Stevenson, John Gurney, Brown, and Doughty, the last drinking, in addition, to the confusion of the Parliament and Army. Doughty would only speak of the Parliament as 'the traytors at Westminster'; he also asserted that the intention of Maurice Thomson and his 'independent brotherhood' in settling upon Assada was to make it a place of refuge to fly to when they had 'sufficiently cheated the State, or feareing the Kings comming in a conqueror then the saide island to be a shelter for traytors'. Minors, Stevenson, Gurney, and Brown also drank several times to the confusion of the Parliament and Army, reviling them and 'my Lord Generall Cromwell'. (1½ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT MERRY AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, OCTOBER 30, 1651 (*O.C.* 2228).

Write now by the *Recovery*. Probably neither the Company nor those who set forth that ship imagined that she would come to Surat; but her commander, Peter Strong, pretends that, owing to the desertion of the settlement at Assada, he was obliged to come hither to land such planters as are not going back in the ship. Most of those set ashore have been taken into the Company's service, as

[1] This is the date of writing, after Fairfax's return to England. The incidents related probably took place in the latter part of 1650.

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was done with those who came out in the *Assada Merchant*; and Strong proposes now to proceed to Danda Rājpurī to buy rice and then sail for England. The *Eagle* and *Aleppo Merchant* will, it is hoped, follow by the end of December. Wrote last on April 8; since when they have received three letters from the Company. The first, dated September 12, arrived overland on May 9; the second, of December 23, came to hand by way of the Coast on August 24; whilst the third, dated March 14, was brought by the *Eagle* and *Blessing*, which reached Swally on September 26. The goods on board were safely landed and carried to Surat. The silver was sold at the old rates, except the ingots, which were the coarsest ever received and had consequently to be disposed of at a lower price than last year. Have also sold the elephants' teeth; but the vermilion and quicksilver remain on hand, owing to the quantity brought last year by the Dutch, and the reported arrival of more this year in five ships which have reach Goa from Portugal. Part of the lead has been taken by the Governor at the same price as last year; the rest, together with some coral and broadcloth, they have sent to Rājāpur. Their broadcloth is in no demand anywhere. The seamorse's teeth will not vend here, and so will be shipped to Persia. Details of the piece-goods, indigo, &c., provided for England; to which will be added a quantity of pepper, brought from Bantam by the *Endeavour* on October 23, and some cardamoms bought at Rāybāg. They are expecting plenty of sugar from Lucknow and Agra, but may keep back part of it in order to send home more saltpetre. For the purpose of procuring an additional quantity of the latter, Blackman sailed in the *Eagle* for Rājāpur a fortnight ago. The tyrannical conduct of the Governor of Surat, in forbidding the freighting of any ship for Gombroon until the King's junks are laden thither, has much hindered the dispatch of two of the Company's vessels for that port. On April 16 the *Assada Merchant* returned from Gombroon; and thirteen days later she sailed for the coast of 'Melinda'. She went first to St. Augustine's Bay, to leave letters announcing the abandonment of Assada, and then proceeded to Mozambique. From that place she returned to Swally, arriving October 12. She brought some gold and elephants' teeth, the latter producing a profit of about 28 per cent.; but her voyage proved a poor one, except for the experience gained. As the Governor's action precluded her

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dispatch to Gombroon, she has been sent down the coast as far as Bhatkal to buy betel nuts. On August 26 Thomas Reynardson returned from Mokha in a Dutch ship. The markets there proved very dull, but he succeeded in selling most of his goods. The *Lanneret* left Mokha for Basra on July 1. A Dutch ship returned from Basra brings news that the markets there are also bad. The *Blessing*, being debarred from proceeding to Gombroon, has gone to Danda Rājpurī to buy rice, which she is then to carry to Muskat for sale; if not disposed of there, it must be carried to 'Sore' [Suhār] and thence to Gombroon. Reynardson has gone in her as cape merchant. On the same day that the *Eagle* and *Blessing* sailed, the *Aleppo Merchant* arrived from Gombroon. She has now been sent to Rājāpur to take in saltpetre as part of her lading for England. Value of the *Endeavour's* cargo. *P.S.* (November 4)—The Dutch *Banda* from Batavia and the *Falcon* from Basra have arrived. The former met the *Anne* on August 10 in the Straits of Sunda, bound for Bantam. The latter left Basra September 19, reached Gombroon October 2, and sailed again on the 9th, leaving in that road the *Seahorse* and the *Lanneret*. Account of the *Falcon's* lading. (*Copy, signed by Merry.* 5 *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT MERRY AND COUNCIL, NOVEMBER 13, 1651 (*O.C.* 2230).

John Harry, for absenting himself from the Marine and enticing away two other Englishmen to a drinking-house, is sentenced to be put into the bilboes for twenty-four hours and then 'to have twenty drubs with a rattan'. (1 *p.*)

ACCOUNT BY ROBERT COCKS OF SOME PASSAGES ON COURTEEN'S SHIP *FRIENDSHIP* (*O.C.* 2119).

They reached Kārwār on February 28, 1649, and thence by Lloyd's orders sailed for Goa. It was Morse's intention to proceed to Persia; but their ship proved so leaky that they were forced to remain at Goa during the rainy season. Then they returned to Kārwār, and subsequently started for Persia, calling at Goa about November 15, and also at Vengurla and Rājāpur. At the latter place they agreed with 'Vaggee'[1] to carry on his account some

[1] Bhājī Shivpat: see p. 251 of the previous volume.

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pepper and cardamoms, to be exchanged for *rūnās*. After touching at Chaul, they put to sea. A call was made at Muskat, 'which was taken by the Arabians; where wee endeavoured to release some Portingall weomen there imprisoned, but could not. Yett wee were profered with much importunity the best house in the towne, if wee would settle a factory.' Next they proceeded to Gombroon. Having dispatched their business, they were about to sail, when 'our purser, Mr. Ailes, was detayned ashoare by the Emon [Imām?] Governour, to the intent wee should cary there Embassador, designed for the King of Gol[c]ounda to Choule or elce where hee desired'. Embarked him accordingly and landed him at Chaul. Thence they went to Rājāpur, where Morse departed for Goa, leaving Cocks to sell the goods. These he disposed of to 'Vagee', but the latter would not pay until he was imprisoned, and 'three of our men were wounded in the enterprize. A short tyme after, the Governor with 700 men came to surprise us, bringing a friggott before our home to shoot it downe. At last Mr. Morss, inticed by oaths and promises to come to him (hee swearing by Mahomett and laying his hand upon his sonns head), was with our purser clapt upp in irons, a guard being sett upon us that were in the house, and all our mony taken from us. Mr. Morss contynued in prison 6 weekes (being almost famisht and often threatned with death); about which tyme hee and I escaped by flight to Carrapatam [Khārepātān], and from thence to Goa, where Mr. Morss prevented John Weights, who had sworne his death. After this wee went back to Rajapore to revendge our injuries, where we burnt Jettapore [Jaitāpur], and tooke three vessells. The one being of Carapatam was taken from us by the Vice King at our returne to Goa. Heere they of Rajapore writt to us, promising payment, the one halfe in mony, the other to bee discounted in customes; which Mr. Morss, had not death prevented him, would have accepted of. After him, John Waights and Mr. Ailes sold the shipp, mony, and prises for 11,000 pardoes [*pardaos*], paying our people with part; some wherof turned Papists; and they intending for Portingall with the Vize King, the rest by the favour of the President are received aboord the shipp *Eagle* [November, 1651] to voyadge for Surratt.' (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

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ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF CAPTAIN JOHN DURSON, COMMANDER OF THE *LOYALTY*[1] (*O.C.* 2124).

The ship reached Rājāpur on September 6, 1649, and a few days later Durson sent Anthony Martin (his purser) and Thomas Day (servant to Courteen) to Rāybāg in order to make an agreement for pepper; but, not finding any suitable, they were recalled and the ship sailed for Goa, leaving Benjamin Paul and the writer behind to sell some cloth at Rājāpur and some *rūnās* [madder] which was in the charge of William Lawrence (master's mate) at Jaitāpur. From Goa, Durson proceeded to the southward to seek pepper. At 'Merge'[2] he was persuaded by the Governor to land part of his cargo for sale; but thereupon both Durson and the goods were seized, on the pretext that he had beaten the Governor's servants and wronged their master 'upon the account of goods laden on his shipp for Persia'; and in the end Durson was forced to agree in writing to pay 1,100 pagodas. Meanwhile, Hugh Gore had been sent in search of the ship, which had proceeded to Rājāpur to fetch away the men and goods that had been left there. 'The newes of Captaine Durssons imprisonment being published, Suapenacke,[3] King of the Canaras, a countrey thereunto adjacent, and haveing advice of his trouble, sent a Bramine, named Deversiong, as an embassadour to Arsepenack, Governour of Merge, to free Captaine Durson and that hee would stand engaged for the payment of his debt. After some scruple being made, [he] was freed, leaveing David Keet, a youth that waited on him, for his hostage, whome at his departure from Merge [he] promised in few daies to sett at libertie. Now Captaine Dursson, being at Batticula [Bhatkal], under the guard of a company of souldiers, and his shipp arriveing at the said port, desired to go aboard: which was graunted, condicionally that three or fower would come ashoare as an engagement for his returne; all which was accordinglie performed. Soe after two or three daies deliberacion he, being accompanied with Mr. Thomas Day, Mr. Hugh Gore, Mr. Benjamin Paule, and some

[1] This document was sent home by the *Eagle* in January, 1652. In the list of packet (*O.C.* 2245) the writer's name is given as Richard James.

[2] Mirjān: see a note at p. 162 of the preceding volume. It was in Bījāpur territory.

[3] Sivappa Nāyak, king of Bednūr (1645–60).

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servants, went to Biddrow[1] the Kings court; who were honourably received, desireing much that the English nacion would settle in his countrey, which was agreed unto by Captaine Durson, as alsoe hee promised to take of from the King 300 candyes of pepper every yeare. Soe haveing finished his businesse with the King, [he] came downe to Batticula and loaded pepper; but not his intended quantity, being bound to Goa to furnish himselfe with provissions and other necessaries for his hoamebound voyage, leaveing Mr. Hugh and myselfe at Batticula, with promise to bee with us within 10 or 12 daies; but it was almost a month before his returne. Soe takeing aboard with all convenient speed the remainder of his pepper and other goods, [he] intended to sett saile.' Meanwhile, 'Deversiong' was pressing Durson to pay the 1,100 pagodas, and the latter promised to send the amount ashore by the factors who were to remain. John Kirk, the gunner of the ship, was at this time the only person in the factory; but Durson then sent Anthony Martin on shore with a message to the Brahman. While there, both the Englishmen were 'apprehended and rigorously used, endureing many bloes and affronts, carrieing them to Seraly Castle,[2] some three English miles distant from Batticula. Wee that were aboard, little imagining what had hapned, came ashoare and found the factory robbed of all thinges, even to our wearing clothes and howsehold stuffe.' They immediately sent back word by the boat to Durson, but he took no notice and sailed away that night, leaving Day, Gore, Paul, and the writer to shift for themselves. With much trouble they recovered their apparel, but could get nothing else. Thereupon Gore and the writer were sent to 'Biddrow,' arriving there May 19, 1650. 'At our first accesse to the King we preferred a peticion, accusing Diversiony [*sic*] for unjustly imprisonning our people and robbing the factory; which the King reading seemed much to be incensed at. So taking our leaves for the same present, wee had not admittance again for fifteen dayes after, our busyness being put to the examination of his councell, they dayly debating of it without coming to a period. And neither

[1] Bidarūr or Bednūr, now known as Nagar, a town in the Shimoga District of Mysore. The capital had been removed about 1640 from Ikkeri to this place by Vīra Bhadra Nāyak (see the 1637–41 volume, p. 5).

[2] Shirāli, at the mouth of the Shirāli creek, about four miles north of Bhatkal.

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of us understanding the country toung, withall doubting of fals interpretation, requested the King at our next view that Anthony Martin might be our interpreter; who forthwith sent an order for his and Jon Kircks releasment. The arrivall of Anthony brought little successe to our unwarrantable controversy; for after three months debatement wee were forct to leave the cloth at the Kinges price, which amounted to five hundred, thirty and odde pagodaes, and subscribed to the payment of the rest at the first ships arrivall. The latter end of August wee came to Batticola and, hearing newes of Mr. Morsses escape, Mr. Thomas Day and John Kirck went for Goa September 19th, 1650, who both within a small time dyed. March [16]50 [i. e. 1651], Anthony Martin went for Goa and, having opportunity by one of the Honorable East India Companyes ships, embarqued for Bantam.' Day, before his death, appointed Robert Cock overseer of his will, desiring him to account to Paul for certain property of his in Day's possession. Cock accordingly sent particulars to Paul, at whose request Gore proceeded to Goa and received the goods. He returned very sick and died within five or six days after, leaving only Paul and the writer. They, the middle of October being past, seeing no probability of Durson's return and having nothing to subsist on, decided that the writer should proceed to Goa and bring back a boat to fetch away Paul. This was done; but, in entering 'the river of Seralie', the boat was bilged, 'so that I with the boatmen and three hired souldiers were forced to leave the boat and betake ourselves to our heeles for fear of being apprehended by the Canaras, who, if taken, would have exercised their cruelty upon us. After one hard nights travell, the next day by noone wee got to Onor [Honāwar], and from thence sent a letter with advise of my misfortune; but before the reception thereof was imprisond.' This is all the writer can relate. Paul and Keet remain in captivity, pending the payment of the money which Durson owes to the 'King of the Canaras'. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

GILBERT GRIMES, COMMANDER OF THE *BLESSING*, AT RĀJĀPUR, TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 21, 1651 (*O.C.* 2232).

Left the Downs on April 1 and the Isle of Wight on the 9th; passed the Cape June 26; and reached St. Augustine's Bay July 13. From letters found there, they learnt that Assada was deserted, but

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Blackman judged it advisable to proceed thither. They arrived at the island on August 4 and left four days later; reached Johanna on the 15th; sailed on August 20; and got to Swally on September 26. The ship was then sent down the coast. At Bombay they took in a quantity of rice and are now going thither for more; while here they have embarked a quantity of freight goods for Gombroon. (¾ *p.* *Received by the* Eagle, *August* 3, 1652.)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY PRESIDENT MERRY AND COUNCIL,[1] NOVEMBER 28, 1651 (*O.C.* 2233).

Oxenden having reported that Richard Kemp, boatswain's mate of the *Seahorse*, has abused and struck Edward Cock, the master, it is determined that the offender 'shall have three falls from the mayne yard' of that pinnace and afterwards receive on board her 'twenty drubs on the bare back with a smart rattan'. He is then to be taken to the *Falcon* and from her to the *Endeavour*, receiving on each ship one fall and ten blows. In conclusion, his wages from the Company are to be stopped and he to be sent home in the *Aleppo Merchant* at such wages as may be agreed upon with her master and purser. Before anything is done, however, the facts are to be examined into by Oxenden and the masters and pursers of the three ships at the Marine, who may diminish or increase the punishment as they see fit. (1 *p.*)

CONSULTATION HELD AT SWALLY MARINE BY PRESIDENT MERRY, GEORGE OXENDEN, ROGER GRIFFIN, AND MICHAEL PEACH, DECEMBER 1, 1651 (*O.C.* 2234).

William Meakins [or Makins], purser of the *Falcon*, is charged with absenting himself without leave and spending the time at a notorious house. This being his second offence, he is sentenced to receive twenty stripes at the capstan and to be turned before the mast as a common sailor. Debts due from him to several other men are ordered to be paid out of his wages. (1½ *pp.*)

[1] Signed also by Roger Griffin and William Newland, the masters of the *Falcon* and *Endeavour* respectively.

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JOHN LEWIS AND ROBERT WYCHERLEY AT ISPAHĀN TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 25, 1651 (*O.C.* 2237).

Wrote last in May from Gombroon; and for their subsequent proceedings refer to their two letters to Surat. Have now after much trouble sold their broadcloth (which was in very bad condition), and are preparing to depart for Gombroon. The proposal to send the King's servants to England with his silk in the Company's vessels has been dropped. 'That one mastive which wee presented hath given the King abundance of contentment, haveinge often times since called for him forth, to fight with bulls and other beasts, which to His Majesties wonder hee hath performed most furiously'; so the Mīr Shikār Bāshī is pressing for an annual supply of such dogs. The King is also anxious for a dozen of 'black beavors', apparently in order 'to make pasttime withall amongst his woemen, as intemateing Frangee,[1] since such woemen hee cannot bee furnisht withall. Such overplus as wee had (or more then well wee cold spare) wee this and the passed yeare gave unto him, with divers bands and cuffs; and yett is hee desirous of more.' The 'Jellphalines' [*see* p. 66] have not yet procured the King's letter for recovery of their losses, but the Company's assistance to this end is earnestly desired. The report of the King's intentions against Basra has proved untrue. He is now busy 'in takeinge a survai of his soldiers', in expectation of an expedition from India against Kandahār. Death of Henry Nokes; also of Thomas Best at Gombroon. Movements of various ships. The silk that was to have gone to England is now destined for Masulipatam, and is to be transported thither in the next English ships bound for the Coast. Heard from the Dutch that they met near Swally two ships from England with a new President. A letter just to hand from Surat announces the arrival of the *Recovery* on September 23. She touched at Assada and Johanna, but had no news of the *Eagle* and *Blessing*. Lewis has been permitted to quit his employment and hopes to

[1] *Farangī*, a European. Chardin tells us (*Voyages*, ed. 1735, vol. ii. p. 356) that, when he was at Ispahān in Oct., 1674, orders arrived from the Shāh that he was to assist in making men's and women's clothes, after the European fashion, for the ladies of the royal haram, who had seen pictures of such garments and wished to use them in dressing up for amusement. He adds that similar orders had been sent to the English and Dutch factories at Gombroon.

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embark for England in the next year's fleet. Their remaining goods will be left with their broker here, with instructions to send the proceeds after them. *PS.* (*30th*)—Have just heard that a Dutch ambassador from Batavia reached Gombroon about twenty days ago and is now on his way here with a great retinue.[1] The Dutch house is being put into order for his reception. Have given directions to some here to 'bee verry inquisitive' into the proceedings of the Dutch, who probably intend to make some contract with the King for silk, of which he has a good deal in readiness. Much desire that the English were in a position to compete with them in this, not only for the profit likely to ensùe, but also for the maintenance of their credit with the King, which is likely to suffer if 'these spoyle marcketts prove the Kings only merchants, wee settinge by like drones.' And this may have a bad effect on the English share of the customs, for the Persians do not pay this out of any affection to the English but owing to 'a kind of feare of some disturbance'; and they are only waiting for an opportunity to encroach still further than they have done. This may be seen from their behaviour to the Portuguese. Now that the latter have been expelled from Muskat, and their forces are so weak, the Persians have this year resolved to withhold from them their usual moiety of the customs on merchandise imported at 'Congoe' [Kung]. *PPS.*—They start for Gombroon to-morrow. (*Copy. 6 pp. Received overland Decembr 3, 1652.*)

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE AGENT AT FORT ST. GEORGE AND GOMES FREIRE ANDRADE, CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF SAN THOMÉ, DECEMBER 30, 1651 (*O.C.* 2238).[2]

1. From the date hereof, fugitives of either party, whether slave or free, shall be surrendered. 2. Any who have fled from the one place to the other prior to this agreement are to be left unmolested. 3. A fugitive married woman shall be given up on her husband's

[1] Cunaeus arrived at Gombroon on December 14, and left for Ispahān on January 2. He met Lewis on the 17th and Wycherley three days later.

[2] This is a copy of the document delivered to the Portuguese, which was evidently signed by Agent Greenhill, William Gurney, James Martin, and the Rev. Robert Winchester (the last probably as a witness). It is prefaced by a note that the agreement was due to the mediation of Francisco Vera de Figueiredo (see p. 7). The text of the document will be found in Col. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. i. p. 102.

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demand; but this is not to apply to women living apart from their husbands. 4. A runaway slave is to be surrendered to his master, 'for hee is part of his goods'. And any man who has fled on account of debt may lawfully be detained and punished unless he can show 'a safe conduct of him in whose power it is to give the same'. Both parties promise to observe faithfully this agreement, and all previous controversies are to be 'buried in perpetuall silence'. Two writings of the same tenor have been signed, the one by the English Agent and Council, the other by the Captain-General, 'the Reverend Padre Governour' [*see* p. 92], and Francisco Vera de Figueiredo, for preservation at San Thomé and Fort St. George respectively. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp. Received by the* Welcome, *August* 2, 1652.)

FRANCIS HAMMERSLY [AT SURAT] TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL, DECEMBER 30, 1651 (*O.C.* 2239).

Accuses Davidge of having, while chief at Agra, continued for his own benefit a practice introduced by Edward Knipe of making payments in 'the oldest defaced cuzana [*khazāna*: treasury] rupees that the baszar aforded', in lieu of those received by exchange, which were 'Surrat and Agra new coyn'd rupees', the difference being 'appropriated to his owne purse.' The use of these inferior rupees in buying goods at Biāna and other places naturally increases prices; while, by reason of the payment of caravan charges in those coins, 'few others but broken necessitated carters will take freight of the English if in any other place procurable'. Avers that during his own residence at Agra the Company lost in this way 3½ and 4 per cent. on all moneys expended; and he understands that since his departure the practice of paying in base money has been continued, for Anthony Smith told him that a loss of 2½ rupees was sustained on exchanging a sum of 60 'cuzana' rupees received at Ahmadābād from Agra. Moreover, the peons and carters that came lately from the latter place have complained of having to accept these rupees. Doubtless the Agra accounts will show whether, since Hammersly's departure, the difference between the two sorts has been brought to the Company's account. When he asked Davidge why he did not demand 'the vattaw [*battā*: exchange] of cuzzana rupees due to the Company from Mr. Knipe, he with stern lookes and high words

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told me I was a sawcy knave to demaund of him about the Çompanies accompts'. Further, Davidge ought to be questioned about a parcel of sifted Khurja indigo he sold at Biāna, the proceeds of which cannot be traced in the books, though there is an entry for a loss of weight on the Khurja indigo. Would have brought these matters to notice before, but thought it best to wait until Davidge should be in Sūrat to answer for himself. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

DAVIDGE'S REPLY TO HAMMERSLY'S CHARGES, DECEMBER 31, 1651 (*O.C. Duplicates*, 2240[1]).

Denounces as false and scandalous the charge that he has ever made a personal profit on rupees to the loss of the Company. The money was expended as received, and there was no 'battaw' thereon. It is true that at times he paid out 'cuzana or berarree rupies' for house expenses and other charges, but these had been received for goods sold. The caravan men had been given 'such moneys as were fitt for their occations and for the places through which they were to passe'. For all goods bought and bills paid, 'exchange money' was used; and if, for want of such, he has in drawing bills on Surat been forced to accept 'berarree rupies (which are many times equall with exchange money)', he has endeavoured to use them in such a way as to avoid loss. No one ever freighted carts cheaper than he did, and the only bad debt incurred was one over a caravan conducted by Hammersly himself. Knows nothing of the loss at Ahmadābād in exchanging rupees; but in Agra these rupees were never at the rates quoted by Hammersly. Refrains from recriminating against the latter, but denies that he ever used the language complained of. He sold no Khurja indigo of the Company's to the merchant mentioned. Remembers, however, that Hammersly brought thence several bales on his own account. For any deficiency in weight the factor who bought the indigo should be held responsible. Hammersly's charges ought to have been brought two years ago, instead of now, when Davidge is wholly intent on his voyage home. (1½ *pp.*)

[1] The version in the *O.C.* series is merely a copy. There is another copy among the *O.C. Triplicates*.

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THOMAS CODRINGTON AT ISPAHĀN TO CAPTAIN BLACKMAN AT SURAT, JANUARY 1, 1652 (*O.C.* 2241).

Complains of the wrongs he has suffered at the hands of Lewis and others, which have reduced him to a desperate condition. Has written to the Company and hopes to be reinstated. Begs that inquiry may be made for some goods he should have received from Nathaniel Tems. Congratulates Blackman on his appointment.[1] (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

PRESIDENT MERRY AND MESSRS. PEARCE, OXENDEN, AND BRETON AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 10, 1652 (*O.C.* 2228[2]).

In continuation of their letter by the *Recovery*, they now answer in detail the three communications from the Company mentioned therein. Need not write at great length, as Merry hopes to give a full account in person. Are now lading the *Eagle* and the *Aleppo Merchant* with the goods already advised. Regret to hear of the fall in the price of pepper and sugar, seeing that they are obliged to send home more than the quantities prescribed of each. The stock here has been so much increased by the last two fleets that they wish the Company could take more indigo and piece-goods; but as this is out of the question, owing to the small demand for these commodities at home, they send only the quantities asked for, reserving the rest for sale at Gombroon, Mokha, and Basra. The markets at those places have been bad this past year, and yet a profit has been made; so they intend to continue the trade, in hopes of better results. Regret that they could not procure as much saltpetre as they expected. This was due, as regards the refined sort, to the failure of the 'peetermen' at Ahmadābād to fulfil their contract, owing to the want of transport from Mālpur, 'by reason of the exceeding mortallity and poverty of cattell in those parts for want of foode'. Similarly, Blackman was disappointed at Rāybāg of the full quantity of raw saltpetre expected, owing to an 'accident of fire' and to the fact that the merchants had not

[1] To this letter is appended a postscript, dated July 20, 1652, making complaints against President Merry and Henry Chapman.

[2] An incomplete copy will be found among the *O.C. Duplicates.*

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anticipated this sudden demand. Have therefore sent a larger quantity of sugar, besides some shellac, dimities, dutties, indigo, and cinnamon. Of the last, Blackman could only secure at Goa 106 'quintalls', in spite of the lavish promises received from the late Viceroy and the present Governors.[1] Detail the places where the several commodities were purchased. Note the Company's warning about 'the difference betweene our State and the King of Portugall' [*see* p. 64] and have accordingly taken care 'to keepe ourselves out of their dainger in India'. It is reported that the difference is now reconciled; otherwise, 'it is certen that they are too potent for us in theis parts, by reason of their settlement and fortifications in divers parts; but their present poverty, and feare of a new warr with the Hollanders, will doubtlesse perswade them to hold amity with us'. Will obey the instructions regarding 'dead mens accoumpts', and now forward as many as are perfected. The frigate *Welcome* arrived from England at Madraspatam on July 4 last, and is to return this year. Consul Riley at Aleppo has been very helpful in forwarding overland dispatches; but it would be better if the Company would write a month sooner. The letters sent in the *Welcome* did not reach Surat until August 24, which is too late for fresh investments; while the overland letter of September 12, 1650, did not arrive till May 9. Were surprised to learn that, at the date of the Company's letter of December, 1650, Mr. Case had neither paid for his diet here nor even thanked the Company for 'his entertainment at sea' [*see the previous volume*, pp. 283, 292]. Such conduct will cause the factors to be more sparing in their hospitality, though for the present they are obliged to entertain some of the Assada planters in that way. Regret that the unavoidable delay in dispatching the *Eagle* in 1650 caused the Bantam ships to wait so long for her at St. Helena. Had hoped to finish lading the present fleet at an earlier date; but although the *Eagle* got back from Goa and Rājāpur on December 16, and the *Aleppo Merchant* returned also in good time, yet they have been delayed by the non-arrival of a caravan from Agra with sugar, which must be put on board

[1] Don Filippe Mascarenhas had handed over charge in May, 1651, to a commission of three, pending the arrival of a new Viceroy. The Conde de Aveiras had been appointed to that post, but had died during the voyage; whereupon the Conde de Obidos was sent out, reaching Goa early in the autumn of 1652.

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first. Trust, however, to dispeed the *Aleppo Merchant* by the 15th instant, and the *Eagle* a few days later. Have already advised the result of Davidge's mission to court. Besides the recovery of Muizz-ul-Mulk's debt, the *farmāns* he obtained from the King 'have saved you some thousands of rupees in rhadarees [*see* p. 10] twixt Lucknow and Agra and twixt Agra and this place; and may save you much more in Bengala, whither Mr. Jesson (now cheife at Agra) hath sent it upon the intreaty of Mr. Bridgman and Edward Steevens, factors at Hughley, where they are settled for the provission of saltpeeter and sugar etc.' The *farmān* ordering satisfaction for the robbing of the Lucknow caravan has hitherto proved ineffectual; but the efforts made to secure compliance will be continued. As the result of the *farmān* for the payment of the debt due from Rājā Chhatarsal, 'there was recovered thereon the last yeare 500 rupees, with the expence of 200; and Chittersall (Rattans heire) hath given writeings for the payment of 2,500 rupees yearely untill the debt bee cleared; which is to bee paid in two equall portions and at the tyme when his yearely rents comes in, proceeding from corne etc., for which attendance must bee yearely given; and though that may cost the one halfe of what is yearely recovered, yet the executors of deceased Sir Francis [Crane] were better bee content with that (if promises bee performed) then loose all.' Jesson has been directed to frame an account in his books of what has been expended and received in this matter. Have already advised the sale of part of the cargoes of the last ships. The beam and weights sent for weighing the silver proved to be untrue; so their arrival was concealed and the old beam used. Blackman sold part of the lead at Goa, and the Governor will doubtless take the rest. Some broadcloth was also disposed of at Goa, and the two chests of coral at Rājāpur, where it fetched 100 pagodas per maund of about 25 lb., or more than double its cost. The seamorse's teeth are 'noe commodity for India', and have therefore been sent to Persia in the *Blessing*. The quicksilver (which was badly packed), vermilion, and broadcloth remain on hand, the two former being in no demand, owing to the large quantities brought by the Dutch and the Portuguese. Intend to dispatch some vermilion to Agra, where it is said to fetch a high price; but it is useless to send broadcloth thither, as the factors despair of selling what they already have, now that the King is

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absent, making preparations for the recovery of Kandahār. The Persian monarch is said to be getting ready to defend that place, and so is also likely to be a long time away from his capital. This will injure the Persian market; but nevertheless it is intended to send thither most of the broadcloth now received, as little or none can be sold here. The practice of airing the cloth during the voyage prevents its spotting, and should be continued. The looking-glasses, 'prospectives' [i.e. telescopes], knives, satins, and velvet will be useful for presents, and a small quantity should be sent yearly; but little sale can be expected for such things. Nor will gold and silver lace produce any considerable profit now, as only that which is 'small and light' is in any demand. Wish that the Company could receive this letter in time to stop their sending out any broadcloth, quicksilver, or vermilion for at least a year. Fine coral, lead, and elephants' teeth will always yield profit; but the coral must be carefully examined to prevent the admixture of the coarser kinds. Refer to their correspondence with the Persia factors for information as to their dealings with Codrington. Lewis has recovered from him the amount due to the Company at the time of his dismissal; and this Codrington has resented, as appears from his letter enclosed [*see* p. 65]. Have not answered, but have sent a copy to Lewis and advised him to treat Codrington civilly as a Christian and an Englishman, but 'yet soe as that noe man might esteeme of him as one relateing unto you'. With regard to the Gombroon customs, though no doubt the Persians resent it as an indignity that the factors should sit in the customhouse to note what goods are imported, it is scarcely likely that they will go so far as to deny the Company some share of the receipts; at the same time, until stronger measures are taken, that share will be no more than the Persians please to allow. Last year the factors were paid 750 tūmāns, which, though a considerable sum, is thought to be less than a fourth of what they should have received. Lewis has now been advised to persevere in his attendance at the customhouse and to demand the moiety of the dues, 'that thereby the memory of your right may bee continewed'; but still to keep on good terms with the Customer. The bad state of the Gombroon markets will appear from the factors' accounts, sent herewith, and has doubtless been advised direct. Note what is said regarding the

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making and enlarging of salaries by the President and Council, but judge it to be no greater privilege than before, 'seeing it is bounded with your allowance'. This will give little satisfaction to some who have had their wages increased here, and now find that they are allowed rather less than their original salaries, while others have not been allotted any at all. In the latter number is Thomas Breton, 'who may well bee amated [i.e. dismayed] thearat'; he consequently desired to go home this year but has been persuaded not to desert his post at Ahmadābād. Lewis also resents the Company's treatment of him and insists on going home next year. Best was likewise aggrieved; but he died at Gombroon on October 20, two days after his arrival from Ispahān. As regards this question, however, they refer to their letter by the *Love*, and so leave it to be dealt with by Blackman. The Company's order to the latter to report specially on Clitherow's 'deserveings' is taken to be a slight upon Merry and his Council. The number of factors cannot be reduced, as there are so many youths here who are not yet fit for anything but the writing office. Praise John Lambton and recommend that he be given a standing salary. The like encouragement should be bestowed upon Swallow at Agra, Joscelyn in Persia, and Martin in 'Synda'. Enclose a list of the Company's servants. Will advise later how some will be employed this year, as it has recently been decided to keep such matters secret until near the time of their sending forth, in order to prevent their 'overlarge provissions for private trade'. Approve the permission given to the President and Council to borrow money up to 20,000*l.* for investment purposes. This amount is ample, so long as they are kept well stocked from home and confine themselves to moderate returns. It was the sending such large cargoes to England that ran them so far into debt formerly. The Company cannot, however, expect to pay only 6 per cent. interest (the rate which they are wrongly informed is usual between Banians), because the loans are at times only for a month, and at the lowest $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per month must be paid. As regards 'the desertion of unprofittable places of trade', they last year, except for certain freighting voyages, visited only Mokha, Gombroon, and Basra. It is true that the *Assada Merchant* was sent to the Ethiopian coast, and perhaps the venture may be repeated this year; but it was solely for the Com-

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pany's benefit, not for any private ends. Merry had not a penny-worth of adventure in her, and he thinks he may say the same for his colleagues. Such assurances should be unnecessary, but the Company seems suspicious of all new ventures, especially if they turn out badly. None of the inland factories can be given up; on the contrary, it is proposed to open a new one at 'Jelolpore' [Jalālpur], 'relating to that of Lucknow', for the purchase of piece-goods. Disclaim any ill-feeling towards the Bantam factors; and detail the preparations made to supply them with goods. Now that Andrew Baines has returned hither, William Isaacson is well content to go back to Madraspatam, and for that purpose he will embark in the *Endeavour* for Bantam. He has been given 200 mahmūdīs towards his sea provisions, and indeed has deserved more, not only on account of the excellent way in which he has discharged his duties, but for the assistance he has rendered in translating letters into Portuguese. Much regret the losses suffered by the Fourth Joint Stock, which were doubtless in part due to the unfortunate results of the ventures to Achin and Suakin. There has also been a heavy outlay here in interest charges, maintenance of shipping and factories, and customs on goods exported to England, Bantam, and the Coromandel Coast (these duties ought, in their opinion, to be charged on the cargoes instead). However, it is hoped that the final result will be more favourable than is estimated at home. The Fourth Joint Stock has been credited here in the books of the United Joint Stock with a sum of 428,660 mahmūdīs, besides the 26,000*l.* which the former Stock agreed to adventure in the latter. All remains have now been turned over from the one to the other, and the accounts of the Fourth Joint Stock have been closed. Considerable trouble was experienced in dealing with the coral. Vīrjī Vōra bought most of it over two years ago, but has only recently taken delivery; and, as some of the chests were found to contain a good deal of a coarser kind intermixed, he would only accept these at a reduction. Have not yet cleared accounts with him, but hope to do so before the *Eagle* sails. Acknowledge receipt of 5,000*l.* sent out on account of the Second General Voyage. After paying what was owing to the Fourth Joint Stock, there remains a sum of 16,310¼ rials of eight, which they have taken into cash and now send bills of exchange for the amount on the United Joint Stock at

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5*s.* 6*d.* the rial. Cannot, as suggested, bring the accounts here down to the time of the ships' departure, as the work would be too heavy; but will in future do what they can in this direction. The *Aleppo Merchant* is being dispatched before the *Eagle*, both because of the covenants in her charterparty and because, as she is rather foul, she cannot sail as fast as the other vessel. Thank the Company for the chest of 'chirurgery' and the three pipes of wine. Merry expresses his gratitude for the orders as to his accommodation on the homeward voyage in the *Eagle*, and is glad they have chosen so worthy a successor in Blackman, who arrived, with his family, in good health. Will do their best to prevent private trade, both outwards and homewards, and to this end have caused a notice to be fixed to the mainmasts of all the ships, giving a list of prohibited commodities. Notices have also been sent to the subordinate factories. What the Company complain of in regard to private trade in India itself cannot be altogether excused, for certainly some dishonour has accrued to the Company and its servants, owing to 'some few that have bin too much extravagant unto their losse' (as in the case of Hammersly, who still postpones his return to England on the plea that he has not been able to clear his personal liabilities); but Merry and his colleagues declare that they themselves have never injured the Company, either in freight (for which they have paid at the same rate as others) or in trade, 'for how can it bee imagined that your marketts are glutted with a small private tradeing (as it is tearmed), when they are frequented by all the merchants of India, in comparission of whose trade both yours and the Hollanders is inconsiderable'. Nevertheless, they agree that if any of the Company's servants have, either in buying or selling, preferred their own or their friends' interests to their masters', such action is dishonest and reprehensible. As the Company has desired a supply of musk, for which there was no time to send to Agra, Merry has made over at cost price a quantity he had bought for himself. Seeing that it is in good demand in England and likely to continue so, 'now the trade of Chyna is soe much declyned, by reason of the Portugalls poverty and troubles in that vast kingdome', they have ordered the Agra factors to provide 6,000 *tolās*, which may cost 3,000*l.* Have not of late years taken any purser out of the ships from England, though pursers' mates

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have occasionally been engaged for want of factors. Deny also that they have called away the pursers from their duties aboard, in order to see to the weighing of pepper ashore. John Chambers and Anthony Daniel express their gratitude for the salaries allotted to them. Have now 'in theis northerne parts of India' (besides the *Blessing*) only four ships, viz., the *Falcon*, *Lanneret*, *Seahorse* (almost past service), and *Assada Merchant*. The two latter are of very small capacity; but all four may be expected to earn their charges and more by the freight they carry, as will be seen from the annexed statement of last year's receipts. Pearce and Oxenden are both desirous of going home, but have consented to remain another year. The Company's orders for clearing their factories of all vicious persons have been circulated as a warning. It is true that either Fremlen or Breton promised, in the event of the capture of any Malabar junk, to give the ship's company one-sixth of what should be taken; but the only case they can remember of any such surprisal was when the *Hind*, *Supply*, and *Seahorse* attacked a rich junk returning from Mokha and took a considerable sum out of her; but then the junk was not actually taken, though she was forced ashore and burnt [*see the* 1642–45 *volume*, pp. 213, 235, &c.]. Possibly the said promise was then made or renewed; but since that time no captures have been effected. It is reasonable, however, that such prize-money should be given, as it is said to be the custom in cases of the kind. Regret to receive complaints of the Lahore indigo sent home two years ago, and trust that the goods now forwarded will give satisfaction. The quantity of sugar may be thought excessive; yet, if it yields the same price as that sent last in the *Eagle*, it will give more profit than indigo, 'which hath heretofore bin your most gainefull comodity.' Would be glad to learn how the other goods sell. Have advised the Persia factors of the complaints regarding the quality of the silk. The accounts will show in detail what course has been followed in turning over the remains of the Fourth Joint Stock to the United Joint Stock. Owing to the desertion of Assada, William Moore came on to Surat in the *Supply*, and is now gone to Persia in the *Blessing*; on his return he will be entertained according to his merits. Praise Pate, who will doubtless carry out his engagements.[1] Having now answered

[1] Edward Pate, 'a young gentleman who was desirous to travell,' had been allowed to

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(though briefly) the Company's letters, they will proceed to narrate what has happened since they last wrote. On October 31 came in the Dutch *Banda*. She was followed by another ship, the *Sperwer*, on board of which was a 'Licentiate or Counceller at Law', named 'Cuneus',[1] with the title of Ambassador. He proceeded in the said ship on November 15 to Persia, to negotiate with the King 'aboute some principall affaires'. Could not learn what these are, but have warned the Persia factors to watch his proceedings and enlist the aid of some friend at court to prevent any grant that may prejudice the English. On November 1 the *Falcon* arrived from Basra and Gombroon, bringing back Weale from the former place and a good stock of money. Some goods were left unsold at Basra, but it is hoped that these have since been disposed of. On November 16 the *Seahorse* came in from the same two ports; account of her cargo. She has been repaired [2] and is now taking in a lading for Gombroon. The *Aleppo Merchant* returned on the 18th, having been careened at Rājāpur. On December 6 the *Lanneret* arrived from Mokha, Basra, and 'Bunder Lahreè'; particulars of her freight. She is now preparing for a fresh voyage to Gombroon, whither she is to carry Spiller (who came in her from Lārībandar) to suceed Lewis as chief in Persia. William Reynolds, the commander of the *Lanneret*, died at sea on November 28, and was succeeded by the chief mate, Robert Bailey. The *Falcon* sailed on December 11 for Gombroon, and in her went Edward Joscelyn to assist Thomas Park there. Three days later the Dutch *Sluis* brought from that place 56,000 shāhīs, part of the proceeds of the Coast goods landed there by the *Aleppo Merchant*, which have realized from 27 to 35 (and even more) per cent. profit. The *Eagle* got back from the Malabar Coast on December 17 with certain goods specified, having met the *Blessing* three days earlier 'thwart of Bone Bay' [Bombay],

come out in the 1651 fleet and proceed from Surat to Persia, on condition that he paid for his passage and diet, and gave a bond not to engage in private trade (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 90).

[1] Joan Cunæus. A journal of his embassy was published (as already mentioned) by Mr. Hotz in 1908. The date of his arrival at Swally was November 9. He landed next day and proceeded to the Dutch factory at Swally, where he was visited by President Merry and his colleagues on the 11th.

[2] See *O.C.* 2235 for a report of her defects. From this it appears that Daniel Elder and Christopher Oxenden came back in her from Basra.

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voyaging towards Gombroon with rice and freight goods. Now relate their plans for the future employment of their shipping, as decided at an unrecorded consultation attended also by Captain Blackman and Thomas Breton, who was admitted to be 'one of councell' by virtue of his merits and his position as chief at Ahmadābād. The *Falcon*, on returning from Persia, will take a cargo to Basra, touching at Gombroon on the way. The *Blessing* will make a second voyage to the latter port, and will go thence to the Coromandel Coast. The *Lanneret* will proceed from Gombroon to Lārībandar with Spiller, who is to settle affairs at Tatta and other places, and then go back in her to Persia to relieve Lewis. The *Seahorse*, after her return from Gombroon, is to carry a cargo to Mokha; and, since the Dutch object to bring back the English factors on their vessels, she will be ordered to 'winter' there and return at the end of the monsoon. The *Assada Merchant*, which came in on January 6 with pepper from the Malabar Coast, will be sent to Gombroon with the Company's or freight goods; and will on her return be again employed to the coast of Ethiopia, as her visit to St. Augustine's Bay last year prevented her from trading at any place other than Mozambique. There her goods paid ten per cent. customs, besides other duties, and it is evident that little benefit can be expected from trading with the Portuguese in those parts. Reasons for the small freight obtained by the *Aleppo Merchant* for Persia at Masulipatam. Payment of the amount due to her owners as demurrage. Penn, who has now repaid to the Basra broker the amount he borrowed of him, is believed to be still at Basra, whither he carried last year a large stock of goods. Reports from Aleppo, confirmed by the experience of some here, give him the character of a cunning, insinuating, and unconscionable man. Four or five Portuguese vessels reached Goa from Lisbon at the end of May or beginning of June. In them came the Conde de Aveiras to succeed Mascarenhas as Viceroy; but he died between Mozambique and Goa, and by the orders of the King of Portugal the administration is now shared by a 'triumviry', consisting of the Archbishop of Goa, Francisco de Mello de Castro, and Antonio de Souza Coutinho.[1] Have had some controversy with the late Viceroy and his successors 'touching injuries and affrounts done to your Agencie of Madraspatam,

[1] See p. 83 and *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvii. no. 531.

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occasioned by the insolency and trechery of the friars of Santomay, who seazed, kept prisoner a long time, and afterwards sent him to the Inquisition of Goa (where hee was also detayned prisoner), one Friar Ephraim, who was pastor or curate unto the Mostezaes [*mestiços*, or half-castes] of Madraspatam.'[1] As repeated requests to Goa for his release proved ineffectual, 'the Agent etc., seazed on the Padree Governour or cheife of their convent of friars at Santomay'. Fresh representations were then made to Goa, 'for preventing of a breach', as will be seen from the President's letters of July 25 and 28 last, 'aboute which time the friar of Santomay made his escape'. However, a few weeks after the receipt of the Surat letter, the Portuguese set Father Ephraim at liberty, 'and advertised us thereof as an extraordinary favor and out of their due respect unto the conservation of peace, unto which they pretend to stand sincerely affected'. Further details will doubtless be supplied by the Agent on the Coast, who has been advised to avoid a breach with the Portuguese, 'for they are too strong for us in India'. A letter from Masulipatam of November 7 gave the news that Durson's ship the *Loyalty*, had struck a second time in going over the bar at Balasore and had become a total wreck. Durson had thereupon, in partnership with a Moor of Balasore, built a vessel of 200 tons, in which he intends to trade from port to port until his employers send out a fresh ship to fetch home him and his goods. He declares that he will rather let his goods and stores rot than hand them over to the Company; but the factors think that 'his necessities may hereafter perswade him otherwise'. Have already reported the death of Morse, after which the *Friendship* was sold, and the proceeds shared by the crew, who are still at Goa. The adventurers are likely therefore to be defrauded of everything; but Blackman will be asked to write further on this subject. Death of Sergeant-Major Hartley at Gombroon on April 29 last. Disposal of his estate is still delayed by his indebtedness to some Surat Banians, who trusted him with certain goods for that place. Of other Assada planters,

[1] For an account of the Capuchin mission and the seizure of Father Ephraim see Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. i. pp. 47, 110; Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, vol. iii. p. 428; and Ball's edition of Tavernier, vol. i. p. 220; also the *Lisbon Transcripts* at I. O., *Doc. Remett.*, bk. 61, f. 582. In the last the name of the 'Padree Governour' is given as Jeronimo de Sá.

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James and Porter are still here, though the former is expected to go home in one of the two ships about to start. James undertook to pay for diet in the factory, but he cannot afford to do so here. Porter lived at the factory until July 3 last, when he took umbrage at being reproved for his frequent absence and his associating with Barrett. After giving an obligation (enclosed herewith [*see O.C.* 2220]) to satisfy the Company on his return for his diet here, he left the factory and now he and Barrett come only, from time to time, to 'our Sundayes exersize'. Nothing has been done in the matter of the *Ruth's* goods. At the time when it was proposed to send Benī Dās to Bījāpur to continue the negotiations, conflicting rumours were in circulation about the death of the King; and so nothing was done until Benī Dās accompanied Blackman to Rājāpur, whence he has not yet returned. It is not expected that anything will be gained by further negotiation; but it may be attempted this year, and, if so, the result will be communicated in a letter which will be left at Goa for any ship that may be sent out on that business. Blackman will report separately how he fared in his negotiations with the Governor of Rājāpur concerning the broadcloth seized there three years ago. Augustine Swallow, being now employed at Agra, has desired an allowance for apparel, which is dearer there than here; but consideration of his request has been deferred until after the departure of the ships. Joscelyn, on being sent to Persia, applied for 200 mahmūdīs for the same purpose, and this was granted. Swinglehurst is too modest to ask for a similar favour, until he hears from his father on what terms he came forth. Hopton Martin, who is at Tatta, has been paid the equivalent of 25*l.* (at 2*s.* 3*d.* the rupee), for which he has given a bill on his uncle James Martin. The following are going home on these ships: President Merry, Richard Davidge,[1] Thomas Cook, and John Anthony (who has been surgeon in the Surat factory for the last seven years). Davidge has been chief at Agra for nearly five years; while Cook, after being secretary here for many years, has during the last two been factor at the Marine. Details of his salary. Investments now in progress for Mokha, Basra, and Gombroon. These may necessitate the borrow-

[1] For a copy of the bill of lading for certain private goods he took home with him, see *Marine Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iv. no. 23. Several references to these goods will be found in *Court Minutes*, 1650–54, pp. 200, 204, &c.

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ing of a certain amount of money, but it is hoped to obtain this at a lower rate of interest than formerly. *PS.*—Finding still some room in the ships, they are adding to the cargoes some pepper, calicoes, indigo, and sugar. The *Endeavour* sailed for Bantam on January 8 with a lading invoiced at nearly 148,000 mahmūdīs. The two daggers received by Davidge at Delhi are sent herewith.[1] *PPS.*[2]—Money to be paid to the executors of Captain Peters. (34¾ *pp.*)

LIST OF THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS ON THE COROMANDEL COAST, JANUARY 10, 1652[3] (*O.C.* 2243).

At Madraspatam: Henry Greenhill (Agent), William Gurney (Accountant), Thomas Stevenson (Purser), William Johnson (Godown Keeper), Richard Minors, William Brown (Steward), Edward Whiting (Surgeon), William Colthurst, Gustavus Denny, Daniel Denny, and John Bridge (died January 12); Captain James Martin (Commander of the Soldiers), Geoffrey Bradford (Sergeant), John Morris (Gunner's mate), and 24 soldiers [*named*]. *In the Camp:* Jeremy Root (Gunner), Hugh Dixon, Richard Emerson, John Cowhill, Robert Bringbourne, and Richard Hall (not in the Company's books). *At Masulipatam:* Christopher Yardley (Chief), Thomas Chamber (Accountant), William Winter and Thomas Symonds (Assistants), William Netlam, Edward Jarvis, Michael Yates, and John Cliffe. *At Vīravāsaram:* Edward Winter (Chief), William Palmer (Assistant), John White, and Thomas Edwards. *At Petapoli:* John Leigh (Chief), William Broadbent (Assistant), and William Bradford. *At Balasore and Hūglī:* Paul Waldegrave, Edward Stephens, and William Pitt.[4] *In Pegu:* Richard Knipe, Francis Yardley, and Samuel Archer (Surgeon). *In the 'Ruby' (bound for Pegu):* Martin Bradgate (Merchant), William Jearsey (Accountant), Thomas Bland (Master), Robert Smith and William

[1] They appear to have been put up for auction on January 25, 1654, when one realized 90*l.* and the other 57*l.* (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 292).

[2] This is signed by Blackman in place of Merry (indicating that it was added after the transfer of the office), and also by Spiller. For a list of the packet sent home in the *Aleppo Merchant*, see *O.C.* 2245.

[3] Printed in *Hedges' Diary*, vol. iii. p. 196, and Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. i. p. 106. It formed an enclosure to the letter of January 14.

[4] Afterwards married the widow of Gabriel Boughton. He may have been the son or nephew of William Pitt mentioned in previous volumes.

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Mixer (Mates), Robert Cowper (Surgeon), and nine others [*named*]. *Employed in the Bay:* George Becker, formerly Quartermaster in the *Lioness.* (1¾ *pp. Signed by Thomas Stevenson.*)

AGENT GREENHILL AND WILLIAM GURNEY AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 14, 1652[1] (*O.C.* 2246).

Dates of previous letters sent and received. Arrival of the *Welcome* on July 4 last. Saltpetre may be obtained in large quantities at Balasore, Hūglī, &c., but cannot be refined for want of suitable copper and pans; so they have written to Surat for those which were sent out to Assada for boiling sugar there. In the absence of such implements the saltpetre must at present go home raw, increasing the charges for freight, customs, &c,; but this they hope to remedy in future, 'The generall use here of refineing is in greate earthen panns; but soe tedious and troublesome for ridding of business, caused by the often breakeinge of those potts or panns, that to our certaine knowledge above 200 of them fell too peeces in the cureing of 600 bags landed here last yeare out of the *Lyoness* to make roome for richer goods. The Dutch are soe well furnished with howses and all other conveniencies for that trade that annually they shipp from Pipplee neere 2,000 tonns of this commodity, and all refined, though they buy most thereof gross (as well as other commodities) up the said river as farr as Puttana and bring it downe in boats, for whose security against the theeveing Arracan jelliaes[2] they have certaine sloopes or small shipps well manned and munition'd; and soe must you, if you resolve to continue this river trade to any purpose, especially for saltpeter, which is said to cost but halfe soe much at Puttana as in Ballasora.' For this purpose they last February bought a vessel at Masulipatam; but this the Bay factors sold as unsuitable, and are now building another, for which they demand men and stores. Neither can be spared here; so the Company must either send out one or two small light-draft vessels or supply men and stores for some to be built out here. The Bay factors have been often reprehended for putting differently

[1] The original was sent by the *Welcome.* The present copy was received overland on December 3. Extracts are printed in Love's *Vestiges* (vol. i. p. 107).

[2] Cf. a similar representation on p. 43 of the 1634–36 volume.

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priced goods in the same bales, and the fault has now been amended. Had two ships been sent from England (as was at first intended), the smaller would have been dispatched to Gombroon with a cargo and freight goods; for though the *Bonito* found poor markets there, her Coast goods made more profit than those from Surat. Now send a good quantity of gumlac from Pegu, and can continue the supply; but rubies are so dear in that country that the factors there did not venture to buy any. Certain debts to be recovered in Pegu. The amount turned over here from the Fourth Joint Stock to the United Joint Stock is 23,337 new pagodas 11 fanams, equal to 37,339 rials, 46½*d.*[1]; most of this is due to the large returns received from Pegu. The old debts of the *Endeavour's* voyage were satisfied some time since by Richard Potter, &c., and the amount remitted to Surat. As regards the completion of Fort St. George, the Company referred them to Bantam; but no orders have come from thence, and the dangers of the present situation oblige them to act for their own security. Consequently, 'wee are resolved to biulde up the fourth courtaine of this Fort and compleat the other two unfinished; to which end have provided matterialls and already layd the foundation, that the worke appeares above ground; hopeing you will not bee displeased thereat, and the rather seeing it will put you to but little charge, for wee have lately raised certaine monies from the delinquencies of this townes people in relacion to former orders and constitucion of government concluded by our predecessors, which wee bring not to publike accompt, for preventing all pretencions of the Nabobs invoisters.[2]' Will advise again later, when they know the charge 'and have made a full composition, wherein wee shall not bee to rigorous, being the first forfitt or penalty yet exacted', for fear of exciting discontent. To requite the affront of the Portuguese in betraying their French friar, they in February last seized the Padre Governor, intending to detain him until the friar was released; but on June 11 'in the dead of a darke night hee was conveyed over our walls with the laceing of a cott and treachery of one Richard Bradbury, our drummer, who for that present had the round and charge of the watch; and soe they escaped

[1] Taking the rial at 5*s.* and the new pagoda at 8*s.*

[2] The reference seems to be to clerks employed by the Nawāb to check receipts, in order to secure the royal share of the revenue.

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both to St. Thomey.'[1] However, with the help of representations from Surat and Bantam, the friar has been set at liberty, as he recently advised in letters brought by one Francisco Vera, a known friend to the English in the South Seas. By the latter's mediation an agreement has now been concluded with the Portuguese; but the Company's caution regarding Jesuits and friars will be borne in mind. Account of the disposal of the cargo brought in the *Welcome* by Captain Matthew Wood. The portion intended for the Bay, with other supplies, will bring up the stock there to about 7,000*l.*, which will be invested in goods for England and Pegu, the latter to be sent direct to Syriam. 'And now that wee are in the Bay, it prompts us to acquaint you that our freinds there have bin at the expence of 3,000 rupees at least to procure the Princes firmand for free trade without paying custome in his dominions; which, if it can bee mainetained in its full vigour, will in short time quite the charge.' Having taken ashore the goods to be retained here, they dispatched the *Welcome* with the rest on July 13 to Masulipatam, whence she proceeded on July 29 to the Bay. Further supplies sent to Masulipatam to make investments for Bantam and Europe, since it is unsafe to give out money here in these troublous times. The Company's letters for Surat and those of the King of Denmark for Tranquebar were duly forwarded. Having now dealt with all points in the letters under reply, they proceed to narrate what has happened since their last of February 25, 1651. After Greenhill had visited the factories round Masulipatam and concluded business there, he returned by land to Fort St. George, arriving March 26. On April 3 came in the *Ruby* from Pegu; and ten days later she proceeded to Masulipatam with the greater part of her cargo. The proportion intended for the Bay was sent thither on a Moorish junk under the charge of William Jearsey, one of the factors who returned in her from Pegu, the other two being Martin Bradgate and Thomas Howard, leaving behind Knipe, Francis Yardley, and Archer. The

[1] Cf. Tavernier's account of this episode (Ball's ed., vol. i. p. 225). Bradbury made his way to Goa, where he embarked for Macassar, and thence made a voyage to Macao in 1654. In returning, the ship was wrecked, but he escaped and got to Macassar. The English factors, discovering his history, seized and imprisoned him, intending to send him to Bantam; but the Portuguese prevailed upon the king to insist on his release (*O.C.* 2484). Tavernier says wrongly that the drummer was a Frenchman and died on his voyage from Goa to Lisbon.

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present made by the King of Pegu to the Agent has not been rated in the invoice from thence, as with the Dutch and Portuguese such things become the perquisite of those to whom they are given. This, however, cannot be done without the Company's licence; and so they send in this ship a small ivory box, containing a ruby ring, valued here at about 20*l.* The other part of the present was 'a small goulden bull (with more eyes then hee should have, through the thinness of the mettle) for a betel box, valued aboute 30*l.*; which wee retaine here yet unbroaken in honour of the sender, whose Majestie adors the beast and could not in point of state have done us a greater favour; but wee shall also make him your servant on accompt.' In May the *Bonito* returned from Persia and was sent on to Masulipatam at the end of the month. On May 30 the *Aleppo Merchant* arrived from Gombroon with a quantity of coral, which was soon sold at a good profit. She was dispatched again from Masulipatam July 4 and reached Gombroon on September 1. On her way hither she lost so many men that her crew refused at first to allow her to go back, though afterwards they were persuaded to this course. Such troubles are ordinary in freighted vessels, and it is hoped that the Company will abandon the use of them and revert to the former practice of employing its own shipping. The pinnace *Dove* was dispatched from Bantam for these parts on April 1; but, owing to bad weather and her extreme leakiness, she overshot Masulipatam and was obliged to bear up for 'Vizagapatam in Gingerlee', where she arrived June 11. Having landed her treasure &c., she was piloted into the river, careened, and repaired; but the Governor obliged those on board to lend him 2,000 rials, to be repaid in cloth, grain, or money, which he has since performed. The pinnace is now at Masulipatam, taking in goods for Bantam, and is shortly expected here to complete her cargo. In her arrived William Gurney to resume his former post, with James Martin to command the garrison, and one Marden, a soldier entertained in England; also eight of the Assada planters who came in the *Supply*, whereof seven are already dead. The *Dove* lost eight out of her crew of twenty-six, including Thomas Seaward, her master, who, with one other, was drowned on the bar at Vizagapatam. The treasure, under the charge of Gurney, Martin, two other Englishmen, 'and 100 peons, besides coolees, for its

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better security against the Rashpootes,'[1] was brought overland to Vīravāsaram on August 28. The *Ruby*, having arrived here from Masulipatam with a cargo of goods for Bantam, was sent back for more on August 28. She sailed from Masulipatam on September 19, but, springing a leak and meeting foul weather, was forced back to 'Emaldee'; there, having been refitted, she is awaiting a favourable wind to resume her voyage. On July 22 arrived 'per Dutch conveyance' one Christopher Blackstone, who brought from Bantam two letters and a quantity of gold. He was sent on to Masulipatam to keep the warehouse there, but died soon after his arrival, very poor and in debt to a greater amount than the sale of his effects would defray. Had intended that the *Bonito* should go on from Masulipatam to the Bay; but, as no ship arrived from Bantam, they recalled her. She reached this place on September 19, with Gurney, Martin, and others, and was dispatched on October 18 to Bantam. In her went Robert Doughty, at the summons of the President and Council. Account of her cargo, which included part of the calicoes received from the Nawāb [Mīr Jumla]. His servants charged for these at very dear rates, of which the factors complained to him, 'but wee are at too great distance for doeing any good; only thereby obteyned a licence to buy where wee pleased, though it also proved to small purpose, warrs being commenced betweene the Moors of Gulcondah and Vizapore, who, haveing shared this afflicted kingdome, are now bandying against each other, whilst the poore Jentue, hopeing their mutuall destruction, watches oppertunity to breake of his present miserable yoke. In the interim many bickerings have bin within two daies journey of this place, and tis reported that the Nabob with his whole armey is beseiged among the hills of Gulcondah, whither hee retired for the more safty, by the Vizaporias; which hath soe distracted this country that wee could not adventure your monies abroad without to much hazard.' The piece-goods sent home in the *Welcome* have therefore been provided at Masulipatam. The *Dove* from Masulipatam anchored here on the 11th current, and will sail for Bantam in a few days. Account of her lading. She was directed to call at 'Cuttapatam',[2] near

[1] This old form of *Rājpūt* is used here (and elsewhere) in the sense of 'robber'; cf. the English version (1669) of Mandelslo's *Travels*: 'These Rasboutes are a sort of Highwaymen, or Tories.' [2] Kottapatam, at the mouth of the Suvarnamukhi River.

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Armagon, for some red cotton yarn provided by President Baker's orders for Camboja; the buyers, however, scared by the robberies in those parts, would not wait for her arrival but sent the yarn hither in two boats. The country is so disturbed that not even 'a pattamer or footepost' can pass from this place to Masulipatam; so any 'secure tradeing' is not to be expected. Captain Durson has repaired at Balasore his damaged *Loyalty*, but is in want of men and other necessaries, and therefore intends to take a freight from thence to Gombroon, carrying such of his goods as are suitable for that market and leaving the rest as security for his good behaviour. He might have made more by selling the latter to the Company, instead of paying interest on borrowed money; but his 'blind malice' towards them prevents his adopting this course. The Bengal goods found wanting in the 1648 cargo of the *Bonito* have been charged to Netlam's account. The estate of William Hicks has been recovered from Richard Knipe; but that of Mr. Lumly [*see* p. 17] has not yet been wound up. The purser's books will show what factors, &c., were transferred to the account of the United Joint Stock. William Bevis, who came out in the *Lioness* and has since been employed in Bengal, 'to and fro upon Gangees', has been advanced 30 rupees upon his departure for England. Four Assada planters were brought here by the *Aleppo Merchant*, and eight more were engaged out of the *Welcome* as soldiers. Some of the garrison 'have bin arrested by the grim serjeant Death', and six have been lent to the Nawāb and are still in his camp; amongst them is Jeremy Root, 'soe often writt for', who cannot be withdrawn without giving offence. The paucity of the garrison has induced them to hasten the completion of the Fort. Enclose a list of the Company's factors, &c., including three young men who are servants to Mr. Maurice Thomson, viz. Gustavus and Daniel Denny, and John Bridge. They were entertained at 15s. per month and diet, and are employed in copying out of books to gain experience. Bridge is very sick and not likely to recover [*see* p. 94]. Their late minister, Robert Winchester, goes home on the *Welcome*, owing to indisposition and the expected arrival of Mr. Isaacson from Surat. He has not received any remuneration here, and is commended to the Company's bounty. It is hoped that the owners of the ship will not expect any passage money from him. The

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enclosed list will show what stores have been bought from the *Welcome*. Beg a further supply of tar, cordage, &c.; also a good beam and weights, with arms and munition for the Fort. They have not one suit of armour that will hang together, and but few serviceable muskets. A small supply of swords has been obtained from the stores intended for Assada; also some cases of strong waters, cloth, &c. 'The Dutch Generall and his Councell in Battavia, much resenting the injurees offered their people on this coast by the Nabob, sent one Dirick Steur, of ditto Councell, with the title of Comissary to treat with him (or rather the King) for better usage. Hee landed in Pallecatt the 19th July last, accompanied with a new Governour who was the Generalls father-in-law,[1] but not enjoyed that place, for death cut him off, and ditto Comissary reinvested his predecessour till further order from Their Honours (as they love to bee stild) in Battavia. But the Nabob dishonoured them by not admittinge their repaire to his campe in three or four months time, which made them voiage it in the interim to Mechlepatam, hopeing to gaine a speedyer access to the King; but order was taken to keepe them farr enough off, untill at last, humbl[ing] themselves, they had admittance to vissitt ditto Nabob, whose wisdome pickt out the foulest and stormey season of the yeare to journey from Mechlepatam to Gundicott, some 350 miles; where at last being arrived with a good present, mett not only courteous but honoured receiption for three daies, which was al the time they stayd there. Yet this pleasd them not. They came about other matters, demandeing leave to enlarge the castle at Pulleacat, to rent the government of that with some neighbour townes, and to have free trade with all persons and in all places without paying custome (wherein, it seemes, they envey our previlidges, which extending all the country over, theirs, with the payment of 4,000 pagodas old per annum, are only confined to Mechlepatam and Pulleacatt). But these demands were waved by the Nabob and referred to the King; and to Gulcondah they journyed (about 250 miles), where they had admittance and largly piscashed the King; who refused all that was gould, even to the

[1] Jacob de Witt, whose daughter Françoise had been married to Reyniersz in 1648. He died on August 31 (N.S.), 1651, at the age of forty, and his tomb is still standing in the Dutch cemetery at Pulicat.

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hilt of a sword and stopples of bottles was return'd them, though the blade and bottles were accepted.[1] Their arriveall back to Mechlepatam after this roundabout voiage was since the *Welcome* came thence, and the *Dove* brought us this newes; but how they have sped [wee] know not as yet, though beleeve they have found more trouble then content (at least wee would have it soe), because they keepe their business very close and doe not bragg as usually in prousperous successes.'[2] The broadcloth sent to the Bay is so damaged that it will not sell, and is therefore to be forwarded to Pegu. The quicksilver suffered much from leakage, but the rest sold at a good profit; future consignments should be packed in copper pots. The vermilion and alum proved also profitable; and so would coral, if any were available. The brimstone was used here in making gunpowder. Lead is not in much demand, but at least 100 pigs would sell yearly. A larger supply of brimstone would be welcomed. Gold and silver may be sent in equal quantities; the latter is more profitable in bullion, but some quantity of rials of eight will be required for the Bay trade. The *Welcome* is now ready to sail for England with a cargo invoiced at 24,483 new pagodas. *P.S.*—Forward two letters just received from the Dutch chief at Pulicat, one in Dutch for the Dutch Company and the other in English for his brother 'in Stilyard'.[3] (*Copy.* 13½ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 14, 1652 (*O.C.* 2244).

Account of the outward voyage of the *Eagle* and *Blessing* [*see* p. 76]. From letters left at St. Augustine's Bay, they learnt that the *Lioness* and *Bonito* had touched at Assada, and had found that Colonel Hunt was dead. A consultation was then held, at which it was decided that 'the plantation could not goe forward', as the

[1] A strict Muhammadan may not use gold as a personal adornment, or eat or drink out of a gold or silver vessel.

[2] From *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. nos. 539, 542, 543, it appears that the Dutch envoy succeeded in obtaining a confirmation of their existing privileges, and brought away two friendly letters to the Governor-General from the King of Golconda and Mīr Jumla.

[3] The Steel Yard was on the riverside, in about the position of the present Cannon Street railway-station. It was formerly the residence of the Hanse, German, and Flemish merchants.

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inhabitants were hostile and had already cut off nearly thirty of the settlers, while almost as many had died 'by the contagion of the place'. As, however, supplies were expected from England, it was thought advisable that the settlers should remain until the end of August, under Sergeant-Major Hartley as Governor, and then, if no help came, the settlers should proceed to Surat in the *Assada Merchant*. This was done, the vessel arriving at that place on October 5, 1650. Notwithstanding the desertion of the island, Blackman determined to visit it, seeing that the Company had dispatched thither the *Supply*, and that the *Welcome* and *Recovery* were also expected to call there with fresh settlers. Moreover, the *Blessing* had aboard her some passengers for Assada, who, if not carried thither, might accuse the Company of breach of contract. They sailed accordingly on July 19, and on August 3 reached Assada Bay. The *Blessing* was then sent to the island, while Blackman in the *Eagle* went in search of the town Antefea. There he landed, and found the place deserted. A march of about two miles up country was made, but the natives everywhere fled at their approach. Blackman therefore proceeded to Assada, where he found an excellent harbour. The *Blessing* had got into communication with the Governor, who, however, declared that he could not permit trade without the assent of the King of Assada, and denied all knowledge of any Englishmen having been there. Account of the island, which is apparently healthy and an excellent spot for a plantation; it would be necessary, however, to send out six or eight hundred men, and to keep two or three ships constantly there. Leaving the island on August 8, they proceeded to Johanna and thence sailed to Surat, arriving September 26, two days after the *Recovery*. Disposal of the Assada planters who came in her. Finding that there were not sufficient goods at Surat to lade the ships for England, Blackman agreed to take the *Eagle* down the coast to procure more. It had been intended to dispatch the *Blessing* to Persia with freight goods, but the Governor had prohibited any being laden until the King's two junks were full;[1] so

[1] A similar order was given in respect of the Dutch ships, but Cunaeus succeeded in inducing the Governor to withdraw it (*Journaal*, p. 10; *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 538). The Dutch were, however, still obstructed in this way; and one of the objects of Berckhout's mission to Delhi was to obtain permission to take Indian

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she was dispatched on October 16 with the *Eagle* to procure a lading of rice for Muskat or Persia. At Danda Rājpurī they 'found the people in armes and the towne ready to bee beseidged by an army belonging to the King of Vigapore: so that there was not any thing to bee had'. The *Blessing* was then sent back to 'Bonebay', to get rice there, and follow Blackman to Rājāpur. The *Eagle* reached the latter place on October 22, and Blackman was courteously entertained by the Governor, who wrote to the King about giving satisfaction for the cloth previously seized. Blackman sent an express to the authorities at Goa, offering to supply ships' stores (for which they had written to Surat) in exchange for cinnamon. Receiving a favourable reply, he proceeded thither on November 10, and procured a good supply of cinnamon, besides selling lead and broadcloth. Leaving on the 21st, he reached Rājāpur three days later, and found that the *Blessing* had been there and, after taking in freight goods, had returned to 'Bon Bay' to complete her lading with rice. Having embarked saltpetre, &c. the *Eagle* left Rājāpur on December 5. Could not obtain any satisfaction for the cloth, it being pretended that the King was sick; nor is it likely that anything will be procured unless by force. They lately took from Morse between four and five thousand pagodas, which they still retain; and unless they are obliged to make compensation, 'our nation would bee so much sleighted amoungst these people that they would abuse us in all places where wee come.' Hopes to remedy this before long; but it is necessary that a yearly supply of pepper be received from Bantam in lieu of Malabar, not only for England but for Basra, &c.; this might be shot among the freighted goods, as is done in the ships going home. Recommends the dispatch of a freighted vessel from England in January for Bantam, where she might lade pepper and bring it to Surat, returning to Bantam with Indian commodities. Praises Clitherow as a diligent and laborious man, and recommends him for increased wages; also Anthony Daniel and Edward Swinglehurst. The last named is a promising youth; 'God make him an honester man then his father.'[1]

goods on freight unhindered by the Governor. To this, however, a refusal was returned, on the plea that several vessels had been constructed for this purpose and that to grant the request would injure the King's revenues (*Ibid.*, vol. xviii. no. 547 A, 550 (2)).

[1] Richard Swinglehurst, Secretary to the Company.

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William Moore, son-in-law of Colonel George Thomson,[1] has gone to Persia in the *Blessing*. The Company gave permission for him to be entertained here, but he desires that his wages may be fixed at home. The liberty given to the President and Council to raise salaries is accounted here as of slight value, since the Company's approval is still necessary; begs, therefore, that this restriction may be removed. The seamen consider it a grievance that, as regards the third of their wages received by them here, payment is made at the rate of 7*s.* the rial of eight, whereas those engaged in the freighted ships get theirs at 5*s.* 6*d.*, and the lascars are paid in ready money 16 and 17 mahmūdīs per month. Recommends that future payments be made at 5*s.* 6*d.* the rial. Got back to Swally on December 16, having lost eleven of his crew since leaving Goa. Off 'Bonbay' he met the *Blessing*, just departing for Persia; she had lost fifteen men and had many ill, it being an exceptionally sickly season. For other news refers to the general letter. President Merry delivered up his charge to Blackman on January 12. (13¼ *pp. Signed copy, sent by the* Eagle.[2])

FRANCIS HAMMERSLY AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL, JANUARY 16, 1652 (*O.C.* 2248[3]).

Having been permitted to peruse the Agra books, he finds no entry made therein of the deduction of 13 per cent. which Davidge confessed (at a consultation held on the 5th current) he had deducted from the prime cost of all cotton goods bought by him. The 13 per cent. is made up of 10 per cent. for 'tare or rebate', 2 per cent. for 'pretended brokridg', and 1 per cent. 'for the difference betweene Candeharre[4] rupees (which sort of rupees the goods are bought for, called Cutche Annt, which is money paid in spetii) and the good exchange mony, rupees paied to the merchants, called Pucka Annt assignacion.'[5] A similar course seems to have been followed in

[1] Probably Maurice Thomson's brother George. See *Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 96.

[2] A portion of the original letter, which went home by the *Aleppo Merchant*, will be found among the *O.C. Duplicates*, under the same number.

[3] There is another copy under the same number in the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[4] 'Candeharree' in *O.C.* 2320. It seems doubtful whether coins of the Kandahār mint can be intended, but there seems to be no other explanation.

[5] Amplified later to 'good money by assignacion'. *Pakka ant* is equivalent to 'first class', and *kachha ant* to 'second class'.

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barter of half English goods and half money for Indian goods. As Davidge is about to sail for England, Hammersly thinks it right to draw attention to the above-mentioned facts.[1] (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

REMEMBRANCE LEFT BY MERRY WITH PRESIDENT BLACKMAN, JANUARY 17, 1652 (*O.C.* 2249).

Although all the events of his term of office are on record, yet in pursuance of the usual practice he leaves the following memorandum on outstanding questions. The Sind factors must be instructed as to an investment for Persia, and the purchase of saltpetre and indigo. They are usually supplied with funds from Ahmadābād. Steps to be taken for procuring Sarkhej indigo. An investment for Bantam should soon be made at Ahmadābād. Goods to be provided for Basra. Presents to be given to the officials at Ahmadābād, particularly the Governor, who is well disposed towards the English. Money to be remitted to Agra for the investments there and at Lucknow. The factors at the former place should be reminded about the compensation to be recovered for the robbery of certain carts; also about Rājā Chhatarsāl's debt. The originals of the *farmāns* obtained by Davidge at Delhi are still at Agra, except the one relating to Surat, which has been made over to Blackman. This contains one clause which is likely to hurt more than the rest will help, and therefore it has not yet been shown to the Governor; but the matter may be considered hereafter at leisure. Arrangements to be made at Broach concerning the bleaching of certain goods. Vīrjī Vōra should be pressed to clear accounts, for which purpose it will probably be necessary to make him some allowance. (*Copy.* 3½ *pp.*)

TULSĪ DĀS PĀRAK AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 22, 1652[2] (*O.C.* 2253).

Entreats consideration of his small salary. It is about ten years since, on the death of his brother, he undertook the place of 'Sheroff', and Mr. Merry can testify to his diligence therein. He would be well content with the remuneration enjoyed by his predecessors;

[1] The subject is pursued in *O.C.* 2320, where Hammersly quotes in detail from the Agra books in support of his charges. For other copies of this document see the *O.C.* and *Duplicate O.C.* series under no. 2071.

[2] This letter is written in English, but signed in Gujarātī.

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but the Company's broker 'Choat' [Chhotā] has encroached upon his employment and now taken away his duties. Begs that this may be remedied.' (1 *p.*)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND MESSRS. PEARCE, OXENDEN, AND BRETON AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 23, 1652 (*O.C.* 2254[1]).

Enclose charges brought against Davidge by Hammersly, and the former's reply. He admits making a deduction of 13 per cent., called 'destury' [*dastūrī*, 'that which is customary'], on goods bought, but alleges that he entered the prices at the net amount. He was asked to produce evidence of this, but declared that he had no accounts or papers. He was then offered the alternative of remaining until he had cleared himself of the charge, but he preferred to go home and explain matters there.[2] Care has been taken that his goods shipped on the *Eagle* are consigned to the Company, in order that they may be detained if desired. Hammersly would have been sent home also, but his creditors would not let him go unless the Company would guarantee his debts; so he remains here at his own charges. He is one of the sufferers by the 'extravagant private trade to Persia, etc.,' which has 'raised some of your servaunts (in the rice of those markitts) to great estates' and ruined others by the subsequent fall of prices. Doubt not to prevent such practices in future. The *Aleppo Merchant* was dispeeded on the 15th, and is to wait at St. Helena for the rest of the homeward-bound ships. She was very short of men, owing to loss by sickness, and to the fact that she came out five men short; so it was necessary to supply her with ten sailors here; while some refractory members of the crew were exchanged for others from the *Eagle*. Care should be taken in future that the ships bring out the full number of seamen mentioned in their charterparties; also that either the owners or the Company nominate a successor to the master, should he die in the voyage. Blackman did his best to discover private trade goods brought out in his fleet, but could not trace any. 'The mischeif is wee cannot imploy a man in this country to looke after such things but hee will bee the first to healpe convey it from our knowlidge and

[1] For a copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.
[2] See a copy of his letter under *O.C.* 2247.

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make a benifitt therof unto himself.' However, the Dutch and Portuguese have brought so much quicksilver and vermilion that little profit is to be expected from these goods for some years; so the Company will not suffer much loss from what has been brought by private traders. Blackman has paid in 771 rials of eight, part of which he brought out to supply Assada, while the rest belongs to the estates of men deceased; he has been given a bill of exchange for that sum at 5*s.* 6*d.* the rial, payable to Captain William Ryder. Enclose a list of ships' stores, &c., needed here. A much larger supply of paper is wanted. The velvets and satins required for presents must be of the highest quality, as otherwise they will be slighted, as no better than those made in Persia. The quantity of wine sent out is quite insufficient; 'for much wee give yearly to the Moores, who now drinke it freely and will accept of such a present rather then other, and oftimes send for it privatly. The Governour of Amad[abad] had the last yeare an hogshead, and expecteth another this yeare.' In former times, when the Company sent out its own ships, any deficiency could be made good from their stores, but this cannot be done now that freighted vessels are employed. Vīrjī Vōra cannot be induced to clear his account, as he demands rebates which they are unwilling to allow. Tulsī Dās Pārak's claim against the estate of President Breton will be investigated. Two sapphires belonging to the Fourth Joint Stock sent home for sale. Some cinnamon taken ashore for use in the factory. Edward Lloyd, formerly Agent for Courteen, came in the *Eagle* from Goa, having lost all his estate when his employer's house at Kārwār was seized. He is too ill to go home, and desires to remain here in the service of the Company; they request instructions on this point. Benī Dās has just returned from Rājāpur without any success as regards compensation for the goods seized there; and it has accordingly been decided to instruct the Company's ships to seize any junks they may meet belonging to the Bījāpur kingdom. Some of the factors employed by the Fourth Joint Stock desire that the balance of their wages may be paid to their friends, now that the Stock is being wound up. The *Lanneret* sailed for Gombroon about eight days since, and the *Seahorse* is ready to follow. (6½ *pp.* *Received per* Eagle,[1] *August* 3.)

[1] For the list of packet see *O.C.* 2256.

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FRANCIS HAMMERSLY AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 23, 1652 (*O.C.* 2255).

Account of his services. Had intended to make his charges against Davidge at an earlier date, but thought it best to await the arrival of the latter. Denies that he has been actuated by malice. Excuses his non-return this year. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND MESSRS. PEARCE AND OXENDEN AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, JANUARY 27, 1652 (*O.C.* 2242).

Now answer their letters of December 15 and 26. Note what is said about sugar and saltpetre. Though there seems little hope of recovering compensation for the robbery of their carts, it would be well to persevere in their efforts; but it is hoped that Anantī Dās's great salary has been stopped. Note the progress of the indigo investment. The supply of musk should be reduced to 1,000 *tolās*, until the Company's wishes are known. The coins desired for Bantam will be procured from Ahmadābād. Were glad to learn that the brokers engaged by Davidge give satisfaction. Have no power to increase the salary of Augustine Swallow; but if he will write to the Company they will endorse his application. Directions for 'baleing of cloth'. The last of the Agra caravans arrived yesterday. Enclose bills of exchange for 50,000 rupees, and will send more later. The *Aleppo Merchant* sailed for England on January 16, and was followed on the 24th by the *Eagle*, with Merry and Davidge on board. Their cargoes amounted to 738,620 mahmūdīs. For Persia departed the *Lanneret* on the 17th and the *Seahorse* on the 24th, carrying between them goods invoiced at 355,316 mahmūdīs. As the Company has enjoined them to avoid borrowing at interest (which has proved so expensive in past years) and has to this end sent out ample supplies, the factors should, as soon as possible, pay off their debts to certain Portuguese, as shown in the last accounts received. For these and other purposes bills should be drawn on Surat whenever opportunity presents. Desire to be kept informed of the rates of exchange between Agra and Surat, Ahmadābād, Tatta, Burhānpur, Patna and Bengal, in order that money may be remitted by the cheapest channel. If loans are necessary, it will be better

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to arrange them at Surat than at Agra, as then they can be paid off as soon as money is available. Hope to get all they need at six per cent. per annum; but first all debts at other places must be discharged. Accounts of cash and house-expenses should be sent down monthly. Have forwarded a quantity of vermilion, and would be glad to supply quicksilver also, if it is likely to yield profit. Commend 'Jugram' [Jag Rām] the 'adowaie' [carrier]. Forward the charges made by Hammersly against Davidge and order a strict inquiry. With the report should be sent down the brokers' accounts and two able brokers, that the matter may also be sifted here, for Davidge has no accounts of his own to produce. In future all allowances or abatements of every kind must be clearly entered in the accounts. which should be kept by the second in the factory and examined by the chief; while the brokers should be required to keep books in the factory itself, and these should never be allowed to leave the building. The accounts of the United Joint Stock are to be kept apart from those of previous Stocks. As Davidge sold a good quantity of broadcloth while at court, the expediency of employing some one to do the like should be considered; if the court is not too distant, possibly Jesson himself could undertake this duty. Nothing has been heard of the proceedings of the factors at Hūglī; but it is intended to dispatch a ship thither at the end of the monsoon, and the factors have been asked to provide sugar and gumlac against her arrival, drawing for this purpose on the Agra factors to the extent of 15,000 rupees, or else borrowing to that amount. A copy of the letter is enclosed for transmission to Hūglī should an opportunity occur. *P.S.*—Quote the current rates of exchange on Agra, &c. Promise some wine and other things when the Persia ships return. (*Copy.* 7 *pp.*)

AGENT GREENHILL AND WILLIAM GURNEY AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 12, 1652 (*O.C.* 2257).

Enclose a transcript of their letter by the *Welcome*. The *Dove* sailed for Bantam on January 21; but two days after came advice from Thomas Radcliff, her master, that he had been obliged to anchor near 'Couloon' [Covelong, 20 miles south of Madras], fearing lest she should overset. By rearranging her cargo and putting in extra ballast, the defect was remedied, and on the 28th she resumed her voyage. Account of her lading. Draw attention

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to the drawbacks of being forced to use such rotten vessels, so ill supplied with officers and crew. The same cause has delayed the voyage to Pegu of the *Ruby*, which was not clear of 'Narsapoore Point' by January 20, though they hope she has now got well away. A letter received from the factors in Pegu states that the King, 'without exceeding presents, will not release your goods at Martavan, being one of his prohibited ports'; but it is hoped that Bradgate, now sent thither in the *Ruby*, will be able to remedy this, as he is more popular there than Knipe, who has been ordered to come away. Have already advised the troubles 'ariseing from the quarrell betweene the Vizapore and Golcandah Moores; but lately peace is concluded betweene the two Kings, being bought by the last for 600,000 (some say 900,000) pagodas; for which sume hee is againe restor'd to the entyre possession of his late conquests, part whereof had in this bickering beene surprized by the Vizaporeans, whose King for these many months was reported dead, though now resuscitated and said to bee in better health then for diverse passed yeares.' Letters have just arrived from Masulipatam, enclosing some brought by the *Expedition* on January 25 from Bantam, which port she left on October 15. She is now to be repaired at Narsapur under the care of Netlam. Hearing that a Portuguese vessel from Bengal had reached Pulicat, a messenger was sent to ask whether she had any letters from the English factors. He brought a brief note from the latter, excusing the non-dispatch of their accounts on the ground that Jearsey had not arrived from Rājmahāl with the investment for Pegu. The Bengal factors have abandoned their intention of sending the new sloop hither, the reason given being that they could not procure enough freight; this, however, is not deemed satisfactory. They had not disposed of their lead, but most of their broadcloth had been bought by the Nawāb. It is hoped that a ship will be sent from Surat to lade in the Bay or at Masulipatam for a voyage to Persia. The quick stock in these parts is computed at between 70,000 and 75,000 rupees, of which Pegu and the Bay have about 30,000, and Masulipatam 20,000, the rest being here. Durson was still in the Bay about the middle of last month, waiting for freight; if he delays much longer, he may lose his voyage for Persia. ($3\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.* *Received overland December* 3.)

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WILLIAM JESSON AND THOMAS ANDREWS AT AGRA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 2, 1652 (*O.C.* 2258[1]).

Hope to hear shortly from Lucknow about the quality of this season's sugar. Now that the royal army has marched towards Kandahār there is not likely to be much competition for this article. The quantity of saltpetre desired will certainly be forthcoming. Have disposed of part of their broadcloth. For that dispatched to Lahore for the Begam-Sahib [*see* p. 11], her *Dīwān* in Agra, 'Mirza Mommon' [Mīrzā Māmūn], has paid in part only, awaiting further instructions. The salary of Anantī Dās was fixed in Knipe's time and confirmed at Surat; it is little enough to maintain him and cannot well be reduced. The only way would be to dismiss him altogether; and this would be resented by all the great men here, especially as he has just lost his son in the Company's service at Khurja. He is most useful for any business at court, and they would much deplore the loss of his services. Provision of musk for England. As regards brokers, their staff consists of Anantī Dās, Bindaban (at 20 rupees per mensem), Gokul (10), Chhajja (10), and Mādu (10). All other wages can be defrayed from the brokerage formerly paid to Dhanjī, in addition to his salary. These brokers are men of mean quality and therefore more amenable and anxious to please; whereas Dhanjī had such powerful friends that, when accused of defrauding the Company, no satisfaction could be got from him. They are of course willing to receive a broker from Surat, but such a change appears unnecessary. Swallow declares that the Company agreed to provide him with a sufficient allowance for apparel. Agra is well known to be expensive in that respect, and 10*l.* a year will not be adequate. He desires therefore that representations may be made to the Company on his behalf. As they cannot depend on getting carts in time for their caravan, they will make up their goods into camel bales. Arrangements for remitting money by exchange. Will clear off their debts to the Portuguese as soon as possible, but at present all their funds are needed to pay for cloth. The prices of quicksilver and vermilion have fallen, but they will do their best to sell any

[1] For another copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

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that may be sent. Regret that they cannot as yet give any satisfactory reply regarding the charges against Davidge. Wonder that the latter was unable to clear himself from Gokul's books, which he carried away with him. There are no books or papers here to show whether the deduction for *dastūrī* was made or not, though the custom is well known. Having endeavoured, but without success, to get a sight of the books kept by the sellers of the goods bought since Davidge returned from Delhi, they at last prevailed upon Gobind Dās, who had large dealings with him, to produce 'his rozanammas [*rōz-nāma*] or journalls'. From these they have extracted two accounts, agreeing with Davidge's in the number of pieces but not in the money paid. Enclose the particulars, and will make further inquiries. As regards the 'batta' not brought to account on house and caravan expenses, Davidge might have excused this on the ground of gratuities to Gokul and others, but that is for him to put forward. Much regret to hear of his troubles, for he is certainly an able man who has done the Company good service. Will take care to make full entries in their own books to avoid the like accusations. Andrews has had charge of the accounts from the end of February; and Jesson will supervise them, as ordered. The brokers' accounts will be kept under lock and key every night. The United Joint Stock's accounts are duly kept apart. Have no broker to send to Surat who could help as regards the charges against Davidge; but will gladly themselves answer any questions regarding trade matters in these parts. Such information will be more reliable than any supplied by 'these people, who will rather report falce then pretend ignorance, albeit they be questioned and are to give answer to that of which they knowe nothing'. There is no hope of selling any broadcloth at court until the King returns from his wars. The letter for the Bengal factors was duly forwarded to Hūglī, and a copy 'per bazar conveyance' to Patna, where probably one of the factors will be found. No acknowledgement has come to hand of the receipt of the *farmān* sent thither. Will duly accept bills drawn by the factors. The bills for 50,000 rupees dispatched from Surat were safely received here, though on the way the packet was opened by 'the Coolees' [Kolīs], and only returned at the urgent entreaties of the 'jellibdarr' [*jilaudar*, a horseman]. Note the promise of a supply of wine; also of presents for

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Khalīl Khān, who is importunate for some and must be gratified, as his help is needed in the recovery of Rājā Chhatarsāl's debt. Their caravans passed quietly through 'Raia Jessings'[1] country, 'with payment of jaggat' [*jakāt*, road-dues], so long as the Rājā was there; but after his departure for Lahore, both they and the Dutch found themselves forced to pay at the rate of $3\frac{3}{4}$ rupees per cart (though this is only half of what is exacted from other merchants). They complained of this, but could get no redress, the Governor of Sanganer declaring that the charges were made by the Rājā's orders. They are now endeavouring to find out from the latter whether this is true. Particulars of caravans dispatched. Anantī Dās is being sent with the present one as far as Sanganer, to see whether he can procure its free passage and also the return of the money exacted from the previous caravan. On his return he is to proceed to Delhi, to receive what is due from Khalīl Khān. Recovery of 650 rupees on account of Rājā Chhatarsāl's debt. Particulars of piece-goods already purchased. At Lucknow transport is scarce and dear; so goods arrive but slowly from thence. The factors there complain also of want of assistance. Enclose a letter just received from Bridgman and the other Bengal factors. *P.S.*—Rates of exchange to Surat, &c. (*Copy.* $5\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

JOHN LEWIS, HENRY YOUNG, ROBERT WYCHERLEY AND THOMAS PARK AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 4, 1652 (*O.C.* 2259).

Wrote last by the *Seahorse* on February 24. Now forward a letter received overland from the Company, with a copy of another addressed to the factors here, ordering the provision of 50 bales of silk. Will do their best, but fear that the Dutch agreement with the King for that commodity may hinder them. Answer criticisms on the last consignment. Sale of pepper. The rice proves short in weight. Have not yet sold their calico and indigo, but are in treaty for their sugar. Spiller left for Sind in the *Lanneret* on March 1. Account of goods and money sent in her. The up-country markets are glutted, and consequently commodities are very cheap here; so there is little prospect of selling their stock this season, and they may be forced to carry their broadcloth up to

[1] The celebrated Rājā Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur).

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Ispahān. Some of the house peons at Surat put a bale of goods on board the *Seahorse*, hoping to escape payment of both freight and customs; it has been seized, and Lewis hopes 'to gett its owner a basteinge'. Steps should be taken to prevent such abuses in future. For the better advancement of the legacy left to the poor by Best, his 'outcry' was deferred until the arrival of Spiller and the other factors; an account will be sent shortly. Lewis has taken charge of the jewels left by Best, and proposes to sell them on behalf of the estate. Cannot advise the provision of further goods for this market at present. Will acquaint the Agent on the Coast what kinds to send hither. *P.S.* (*March* 11)—The junk that carries this having been delayed, they are enabled to advise the sale of certain piece-goods. Recommend the bearer to their friendship. News has just come from Ispahān that the Dutch ambassador Cunaeus had arrived there, but had not yet seen the King. He was being duly entertained, 'haveinge from His Majesties kitchinge dayly sent him 12 langarees of pillow,[1] as other perquisitts, with barly and straw for his horses'. Expect a caravan from thence shortly. (*Copy.* 5½ *pp.*)

JOHN SPILLER AND NICHOLAS SCRIVENER AT LĀRĪBANDAR TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 15, 1652 (*O.C.* 2262).

Left Gombroon March 1 and arrived at this port on the 10th, but found that the Prince's servants had left a few days before, in one of his ships, being persuaded that the English would not now come. The Shāhbandar, however, promises to find them other freight; and this is the more likely because the merchants have of late refrained from buying, owing to a rumour that a Portuguese fleet had gone to the Gulf. The unlading of the ship outside the bar is proving a difficult matter. Forward a letter from the Company received at Gombroon for transmission to Surat. If freight be procured, it may be necessary to bring the *Lanneret* within the bar. 'Mierza Khobaadbeague [Mīrzā Qubād Beg], the Multan Princes[2] servant in Tahtah', has written to his master about buying their lead; though, if the vessel goes to Surat, it will probably have to

[1] A *langarī* is a shallow metal dish. 'Pillow' is the Persian *pulāo*, a mess of meat boiled with rice and spices.

[2] Aurangzeb.

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be left aboard for ballast. Gary is still at Nasarpur. He reports that cloth is there good and cheap; so he will be furnished with means to purchase what is required. Steps will be taken to provide 'stuffs' for Persia, as soon as their money is coined. On the same day that the *Lanneret* came to anchor, four Dutchmen arrived at Tatta from Surat.[1] They were welcomed by the English, who brought them to their factory; and after supper they proceeded to a house provided for them, 'which is not to their likeing'. They do not seem to be provided with any *farmān* 'or any Princes neshaan' [*nishān*], nor are they likely to have one 'before there great present be arrived at court, that went away from Surratt the begining December last'; but they brought a letter and present to the Governor from the Dutch chief at Surat. In accordance with their usual practice, they are endeavouring to entice away some of the brokers of the English, including the chief one, by promise of higher wages; but in this they are likely to be disappointed. They declare they have no money or bills of exchange; yet Scrivener saw some weighty parcels taken out of their coaches, which probably contained rupees. Their coming forth hither 'hath much dejected these poore merchants'. It is fortunate that the English brought so large a sum from Gombroon, as it will much facilitate their investments, doubtless to the vexation of the Dutch. An overture for freight has just been received from the Tatta merchants, but they only offer 15 rupees the 'carwar' [*kharwār*, a load], and so a broker is about to be sent thither to induce them to give more. It will probably be better to take 18 rupees the load (as in November last) than to have to send the ship to Surat. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

MESSRS. LEWIS, YOUNG, WYCHERLEY, AND PARK AT GOMBROON TO [THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT], MARCH 20, 1652 (*O.C.* 2263).

Now reply to the letters brought by the *Assada Merchant* and *Falcon* a week ago. The former has landed her goods and is ready to return to Surat. Her excessive leakiness caused so much injury to the freighted goods that no return passengers could be procured,

[1] Headed by Pieter de Bie. He was favourably received and obtained a promise that the Dutch should be allowed to trade upon the same terms as the English (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 538).

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especially as there is a Dutch ship about to sail at the same time.[1] Hope to have better success with the *Falcon*, which is still unlading. Regret to hear that the Governor of Surat is still giving trouble in the matter of freight. Disposal of the indigo received. Were glad to receive instructions to buy silk, as it is necessary to maintain the reputation of the Company now that the Dutch have resolved to deal in that commodity. Wrote at once to acquaint Ismaīl Beg, who is secretary to the Itimād-uddaula, and a few days later dispatched a petition to the latter by their linguist. A letter was sent to 'Cullerawagasee,[2] the King's great favourite and our freind'. Propose to treat for 100 loads of silk this year, and possibly a similar quantity for next year, paying cash if goods will not be taken in part satisfaction. It will be necessary to give some presents, though not of large amount. Nothing more has been heard about the Dutch. Regret that the horses sent were not approved; promise two more by the *Falcon*. The officials here will not resent the seizure of any [Bījāpur?] vessels at sea, so long as no attempt is made on any in the port. Young has taken over the charge of the accounts. If possible, two horses will be sent to the Coast in the *Blessing*, together with rosewater, fruit, &c., desired by the Agent. The markets here continue dull. Mīr Jumla's junk arrived three days ago. As requested by the Masulipatam factors, the Company's share of the customs on Mīr Jumla's goods will be forgone; the demand for horses for those parts will also be complied with as far as possible. Omitted to advise certain freight laded on the *Lanneret*; also an advance made to her purser. Send now 2,500 tūmāns on account of sales, and certain money belonging to Banians. Have granted passages to a Franciscan friar lately come from Rome, with two disciples, and also to two Portuguese women of Muskat, who have been long in captivity, &c. Finding that the ship can take them after all, they have embarked the two horses required. A letter is enclosed, addressed to Mīr Jumla by the master of his

[1] A Dutch letter of 1651 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvii. no. 529) says that merchants much preferred the Dutch ships, because care was taken of their goods, which in English vessels were frequently spoilt by sea-water. See also p. 142 of the 1642–45 volume.

[2] The *Kūllar Agasī*, or head of the slaves, a post held at this time by the *Mīr Shikār Bāshī* (for whom see p. 63). Copies of Lewis's letters to him and to the Itimād-uddaula will be found under *O.C.* 2260, 2261.

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junk. The Dutch here have done little beyond selling their coffee ; but now that their Bengal ship and one from Surat have arrived, they are likely to be busy. (*Copy.* 4 *pp.*)

JOHN SPILLER AND NICHOLAS SCRIVENER AT LĀRĪBANDAR TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 31, 1652 (*O.C.* 2264).

At the last moment, when they were about to dispeed the *Lanneret* to Surat for want of freight, the merchants' agents and 'the Byah,[1] whoe is next man unto the Shabander', offered to give three rupees more per load for freight to Kung, and this was accepted. The goods cannot as yet be got aboard, owing to bad weather. Dare not bring the vessel over the bar, for fear she would not be able to pass it again ; but unless the weather improves, it will be difficult for her to embark her cargo. The Shāhbandar has sent a request for more boats to 'the Rawnah,[2] for heere the sea coast and pilotts are more at his comand then the Princes' ; but his character is such that 'very little or no trust is to be imposed in him'. Plenty of goods are now being offered for freight, and they have already accepted a full lading. The Surat vessel that the Multan Prince's men laded for 'his new port of Cuckerhallah' [*see* p. 10] was forced to put in here ; whereupon the Shāhbandar refused to allow her to leave, promising her master a cargo for Persia instead. This is not now forthcoming ; so the master is sending a messenger to Surat about the matter, and this letter is entrusted to him. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

DIRECTIONS LEFT BY JOHN SPILLER FOR THE FACTORS IN SIND, APRIL 9, 1652 (*O.C.* 2265).

The *Lanneret* being now laden with freight goods for Kung and Basra, Spiller has resolved to embark in her himself, according to the desire expressed by the President and Council at Surat. He leaves here 65,000 abbāsīs, on which Mughal Khān has undertaken to levy no more mintage than is paid in Surat or was required by the late Shāhbandar. The money should therefore be taken up to Tatta and coined. Directions for the stuff and cloth investments. Scrivener may be sent to Kandiāro, if necessary ; but it should be

[1] This seems to be the Hind. *bayā*, a person who measured the grain in the bazar.

[2] See a note at p. 124 of the 1634-36 volume.

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remembered that at their last visit the factors received 'none of the best usage'. The *Lanneret* will be sent back from Basra to embark for Surat the stuffs provided for Persia. A quantity of lead has been landed, which has been brought at the desire of the Prince's *Dīwān*, Mīrzā Qubād Beg; this should be sold to him or to others. Disposal of broadcloth and *rūnās*. Instructions may be expected from Surat regarding the provision of baftas and saltpetre; but the latter must be well refined, for now an ample supply of this commodity is procurable in Bengal at a cheap rate. The arrival of the Dutch is likely to raise prices. Care must be taken that the quality of the cloth is not deteriorated, as in that case directions must be sought from Surat. If Scrivener does not go to Kandiāro, he should be stationed at Nasarpur with Tyrrwhitt, while Gary and Martin look after the stuff investment at Tatta. Cotton wool to be sold. Sundry payments to be entered in their books. Gary is left in charge. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND MESSRS. PEARCE, OXENDEN, AND BRETON AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 24, 1652 (*O.C.* 2267).

Enclose correspondence with the Agra factors concerning the charges against Davidge; the result is unsatisfactory, and they intend to dismiss the brokers there, unless a better explanation is received. Have done their best to reduce the rate of interest paid by the Company; and, as no satisfactory arrangement could be made with Tulsī Dās, they approached Benī Dās, who has agreed to furnish them with money up to 200,000 rupees at $\frac{5}{8}$ per cent. per month. Suggest that a letter of commendation should be sent him from the Company, with a present of about three yards of scarlet cloth. Vīrjī Vōra still delays the clearing of his account. Remind the Company of the need of stores. Desire a smith or two and also a ropemaker, as the latter could make small cordage from the country hemp at half the cost in England. Their present ropemaker has been out four years and means to go home by the next fleet. Have at present (since the death of Lightfoot and Edward Hill) only two capable surgeons for their five ships; at least two more should be provided. In engaging future ships, the Company should stipulate for leave to exchange forty or fifty men here, for there are many

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employed in the local shipping who are clamouring to go home, but cannot be permitted. Further, the clause should be omitted which excepts Bantam from the ports to which freighted vessels may be sent from these parts. Acknowledge the receipt of the Company's letters of last July. In accordance with the caution given therein, orders have been issued to all masters of ships to refrain from visiting Portuguese settlements and to be on their guard against attacks from them. The Coromandel factors have also been warned on the same subject. The Agent there has promised to keep a vigilant eye upon 'the French designe' and frustrate it if possible. Home-going vessels will be instructed to keep a careful watch for enemies. The Company's overland letter of September 29 arrived here April 9. Were glad to learn of the intended dispatch of the *Smyrna Merchant* with a cargo of 20,000*l.* The goods desired in return are being provided. Details of the investments. It is doubtful whether cinnamon can be procured from the Portuguese, in view of the present strained relations; and in any case they are not likely to supply it except in exchange for tar and cordage, written for in an earlier letter. Cardamoms are always got from Rājāpur, with which at present they are at open war; but they will endeavour to obtain some elsewhere. Hope to be able to furnish the fifty bales of silk desired. The Dutch have sent an ambassador to Persia to make an agreement for the purchase of this commodity; so, to prevent any resultant damage to English interests, Lewis has been authorized to make an offer for a quantity, in anticipation of sanction from home. Provision of Sarkhej indigo and of piece-goods. Are doing their best to restrain private trade, not only that for England but also the port-to-port traffic; there has been less this year than last by 15,000*l.* or 16,000*l.*, and they hope that next year it will be smaller still. The omissions in the invoice of the *Love* were due to the remissness of Cook, the Marine Factor, not of Pearce, the Accountant, who can only enter what the former reports. The Sind goods are never opened here, and their invoice was copied verbatim. Had Pearce been so active a private trader as is suggested, he might have been home now with thousands, as some have done with less than half his service. An exact account of freight will be sent home yearly. Enclose an abstract of what their ships have earned in that way of late. In looking over some copies of Persian

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farmāns in this factory, a transcription was found of a letter from 'Emum Cowle Ckaun',[1] in which he declares that he has given the Dutch his share of the customs on their goods and desires the English to do the like. Cannot understand that the Company ever agreed to this request, 'but that perforce they [the Dutch] have usurped the halfe of theire customes from you for more then 20 yeare; which is a thing verie considerable, not lesse then 5 or 6,000[*l.*] a yeare when leest'. If the Company's claims against the Dutch have not already been settled, it might be well to add this to the list;[2] while if the Hollanders could be brought to pay in future 1,000*l.* a year on that account, it would much increase the esteem of the English, 'which is by the Duch at present rendred most contemptable'. Broadcloth is in no demand. Part of their vermilion and quicksilver sent to Agra for sale. Great loss in the latter by leakage; this might be remedied by packing in copper pots. If the Dutch and Portuguese bring as much quicksilver this year as last, there will be little profit by its sale. The stock now here is enough for two or three years, for the annual consumption in these parts does not exceed 400 maunds, equivalent to 133 cwt. Formerly, when this commodity came from China, the price was as low as 60 rupees per maund, and it is feared that that figure will be reached again, 'especially if the trade of China revive, as the Portugals pretend it will'. Although no coral has been sent from England, the price has not advanced, though there is some demand on the Coast. The *Seahorse* has gone for Mokha and the *Lanneret* from Sind to Basra; while the *Blessing* has been ordered to proceed from Gombroon to the Coast and Bengal. The *Assada Merchant* is being repaired and will then be dispatched to East Africa. This packet[3] is being conveyed to Basra by the *Falcon*. *PS.*—Some

[1] The celebrated Imām Qulī Khān, who commanded the Persian forces at the capture of Ormus. The letter referred to is probably the one noted at p. 44 of the 1624–29 volume; but in that case the summary given in the text is inaccurate, as the letter plainly notifies the English that their grant of half the customs does not apply to Dutch or other European goods.

[2] The Company had long ago included this in its list of grievances against the Dutch (see *Court Minutes*, 1640–43, p. 53); and when in 1654, after the conclusion of peace, its full claims were put forward, these included 120,000*l.* (30 years at 4,000*l.*) on that account (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 322).

[3] For a list of its contents see *O.C.* 2266. It was received in London December 3, 1652.

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pistols 'with two or three paire of barrells in a stock', wanted for the Shāhbandar of Gombroon. Davidge carried to England particulars of swords desired by (it is believed) Sadullah Khān; when supplied, directions should be sent whether they are intended for him or for Khalīl Khān, they being both 'our very good freinds'. Pearce desires permission to return by the next fleet, after serving for eighteen years. An able accountant should be sent to take his place, for no fit man here can be spared for that employment. Enclose a second bill of exchange for the balance of the account of the Second General Voyage; also a list of men deceased. (*Copy.* 8½ *pp. Received July* 8, 1653.)

WILLIAM JESSON AND THOMAS ANDREWS AT AGRA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, APRIL 30, 1652 (*O.C.* 2268).

Wrote last on the 17th [*missing*]. Now send cash-account and invoice of the last caravan, and advise having drawn on Surat for 22,000 rupees, at 4⅛ per cent. loss. The debts of the Begam Sāhib and Khalīl Khān for broadcloth have been recovered. Enclose an account, taken from the waste-book of one of their brokers, of purchases made by Davidge, whereby it will appear that, 'as he kept not all the batta to himselfe, soe he gave not the Company all theire due'. One overrating is thought to be a genuine mistake on the part of Davidge, but the rest they cannot explain, as he carried away all the rough accounts except this one, which was overlooked. The 'Taidgundy' [*see the previous volume*, p. 220] merchants cannot be induced to produce any accounts to be used as evidence against a customer. Send a copy of a letter from Lucknow, showing the progress made in the investment there. Desire instructions as to the dispatch of goods from that place. The badness of the 'mercoolees' made at 'Nyegom' [*see* p. 9], the usual source of supply, has induced the factors to order some to be made in 'the Deraibaud townes' [the district round Daryābād]. Sugar bought at Lucknow and 'Pehannee',[1] the latter being the place whence comes the best kind; the balance will be procured here. Enclose 'a pattern of broad cloth, termed by theise people Agraick,[2] for the collor much esteemed in these parts'; if a supply could be procured from

[1] Pihānī, in Hardoī District.

[2] Probably Hind. *azraq*, cerulean or azure.

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England it would sell readily. Forward a letter received from the Bengal factors. A bargain for part of their vermilion has been frustrated by the assassination of the buyer. The balance in hand consists of *khazāna* rupees. Sale of sandalwood. Error in a former invoice. No news yet of the King's proceedings. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

CHARGES AGAINST CAPTAIN JAMES MARTIN[1] (*O.C.* 2269).

He has contrasted the Protestant faith unfavourably with that of the Papists; has used blasphemous language; has spoken disparagingly of President Baker, and termed President Blackman 'a tarpawling'; has repudiated the authority of the Agent; and has said that the building of Fort St. George was 'a meere cheate unto the Company'. Concerning 'Generall Cromwell' he declared 'that before these warrs begunn hee was a pore cowardly fellow and would take a cuff on the eare from any man'; while as for Cromwell's wife, 'the stone or excrescence of a fruite called a cadjew [*kājū* or cashew] would fitt her very well for a tooth'. He has defamed various merchants, &c., here, as also 'abused our late deceased Sergent' [Bradford?]. He has frequented 'punch howses' in company with private soldiers and played cards with them for money. He falsely accused Gurney and Bartholomew Gidleigh (purser of the *Dove*) of suppressing an inventory of the estate of the late Richard Mathews (mate of that vessel) and substituting another. Contrary to standing orders, he told James Marden, the new Sergeant, to cut down or run through any soldiers found quarrelling. He has confessed to several wicked actions in England and on the way hither. The above articles were attested before William Gurney on April 29, 1652. Many more offences might now be added. In May, 1652, he was heard to inveigh against the English in general for 'their base usage of those servants which were under them'. He accused Mr. Gurney of obtaining the appointment of Thomas Morris as surgeon of the *Ruby* in return for his help in the fraud on Mathews' estate. He falsely boasted that he had a commission

[1] These are counter accusations by Stevenson and Minors, whom Martin had charged with speaking slightingly of the Agent and Council. The following also joined in testifying to various items: Joseph Greenhill (brother of the Agent), William Johnson, Edward Whiting, Thomas Bland, Walter Littleton, and William Dawes. Extracts have been printed in Col. Love's *Vestiges* (vol. i. p. 111). The paper cannot be exactly dated; but a copy of it was received in London in June, 1655.

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from the Company, and complained that he was slighted by the Agent and others, adding: 'If I come here (a place called the Exchange, where these words were uttered), before I have spoken three words there is 24 articles against mee. I am forbiden to keepe companey with the souldiers, though some of them bee as good as those whome the Agent hath made his greatest companions.' He has urged the two Dennys to testify to his honesty, though in their presence he has said: 'What is Gurney but the sonne of a taylors threed, or the Agent but the sonn of a greazce butcher?' (*Unsigned copy.* $6\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

MESSRS. LEWIS, YOUNG, AND PARK AT GOMBROON TO THE COMPANY, MAY 15, 1652 (*O.C.* 2270).

Wrote last from Ispahān on December 30. Lewis reached Gombroon on January 24, and Wycherley a week later. They found there only Park and Joscelyn, Andrews having returned to Surat in the *Falcon*. Details of remittances to the Presidency. The markets are still dull, but they have disposed of most of their goods. Young arrived in the *Seahorse* on February 17, to keep their accounts in place of Best. Letters received from the Company and forwarded to Surat. The Dutch ambassador travelled to Ispahān in considerable state, his liberal presents procuring him great show of respect on the way. Arriving at the capital, he was received by the King, to whom (according to report) he gave presents amounting to 500 tūmāns. He then submitted an offer of 42 tūmāns a load for such silk as the Dutch should buy of the King, but in reply a demand was made for the payment of 16,000 tūmāns alleged to be due from them for customs on goods formerly imported, and they were further required to agree to pay in future the same duties as other merchants. The ambassador answered that he hoped the King would grant the Dutch the same immunities as the English; to which the Itimād-uddaula retorted that 'when they had don such service to the Crowne of Persia as the English nacion had don, they might well expect to participate with them of such graces'. The ambassador, finding the King's terms unacceptable, desired to leave the court, but could not obtain the necessary permission. After some negotiations it was agreed that (1) the Dutch should buy annually from the King 300 loads of silk at 48 tūmāns per load: (2) they

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should be allowed to import yearly to the value of 20,000 tūmāns duty-free, but pay the usual customs on all above that amount: (3) on all exports they should pay the ordinary customs, unless their imports fell below 20,000 tūmāns, 'in which case the amount heereof is to bee defalked from that accompt'.[1] Probably the Dutch will have to pay duty on at least another 20,000 tūmāns. They are much ashamed of the results of their negotiations; but, to put the best face possible on them, they made a great show of rejoicing here, firing salutes on shore and at sea, and dressing their ships with flags and streamers. Some think that the Hollanders will only observe the agreement until they are out of the King's power, when they will take steps to force a more profitable bargain. While the Dutch were negotiating with the King, the English factors were authorized from Surat to buy a parcel of silk, in order to counteract the designs of their rivals; but, as no quantity was specified, they are rather at a loss to know how to proceed. In any case they will not give the price to which the Dutch have agreed. Spiller, who is to succeed Lewis, arrived in the *Lanneret* on February 22, but after a short stay proceeded with that vessel to 'Sinda', intending to voyage thence to Basrà and return to this place at the end of the monsoon, when Lewis will embark for Surat on his way home. Damage caused by the leakiness of the *Assada Merchant*. On April 18 they forwarded to Surat a letter from the Company brought a few days earlier by 'Signor Taverner',[2] who was himself bound for Masulipatam; a copy of it had, however, been previously received. The *Blessing* will this year prove very profitable in the amount of freight earned; she sailed on April 30 for the Coromandel Coast, Christopher Oxenden and Oliver Taper being the merchants in charge. By the desire of the Itimād-uddaula, three of this King's merchants were allowed to embark in her, with a quantity of silk. She brought from Surat William Weale and Anthony Daniel,

[1] For a full account of these negotiations see the *Journaal* of the embassy already mentioned. A summary will be found in no. 538 of the first series of the *Hague Transcripts* (vol. xviii).

[2] Tavernier had started from Paris in June, 1651, and had come overland to Basra and so to Gombroon. He had offered to carry a letter from the Company, but it had been decided not to send one by him (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 109). Apparently this decision was reconsidered. Tavernier says that he left Gombroon for Masulipatam on May 11 (N.S.) in the Golconda junk.

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appointed to assist Spiller at Basra; they proceeded to that place on April 26. Sales at Ispahān. Money sent to Surat by the *Falcon*, which sailed April 1. 'Wee have yett noe newes of the Scotts Kings Agent; nor shall wee, I hope, have cause to fear his employment.' Will, however, be vigilant in the matter and deal as ordered 'with such actors as shall appeare in this busines'.[1] Have induced the Shāhbandar to pay this year, as the Company's share of the customs, 159,110 shāhīs[2]—a sum higher than last year, though that was better than usual. In addition, nearly 200 tūmāns have been forgone as the Company's share of the customs due on Mīr Jumla's goods from Masulipatam. The few remains here will be transported to Ispahān. Account of fifteen Dutch ships that arrived during the monsoon from various ports, with details of their cargoes, totalling 40,750 tūmāns.[3] It will be seen that they have largely exceeded the amount they are allowed to bring in duty-free; if they actually pay any customs on the rest, a claim will be made on the Company's behalf for a moiety of the sum. Have now no cash in hand, after providing for engagements and expenses. A few days ago arrived news that the fleet which the Portuguese had long been preparing had at last reached the Gulf, consisting of four or five ships and about thirty small vessels, commanded by one of the three now governing in place of the Viceroy. They are bound for Kung, where they will revictual and possibly make some conclusion of 'theire custome howse bussines' [*see* p. 79]; then they are to proceed on their design of recapturing Muskat. Other reports speak of their having already encountered the Arabs and sunk one or two small vessels. 'Att this verry instant wee can easily heare the gunns plyeinge theire worke not much distance from Ormus.' Shāh Jahān, after long

[1] Tavernier had written to the Company from Paris, warning them that there was a design on foot to send a representative of the King of Scotland (i. e. Charles II) or the Queen Mother to obstruct their trade in Persia and claim their share of the Ormus customs; whereupon it was resolved to write to Surat, ordering that any emissary of the kind should be seized and sent to England.

The design was not carried out until later, though it seems that in 1652 it was intended to employ for this purpose Sir Andrew Cogan (a former servant of the Company). In the end, Henry Bard, Viscount Bellomont, was commissioned to proceed to Persia as ambassador, and he started on this errand towards the end of 1653 (Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, vol. i. p. 72).

[2] At 4*d*. the shāhī, this amounts to a little over 2,650*l*.

[3] The two ships from Taiwan (Formosa) brought 200 maunds of 'chaw' (i.e. tea), valued at 250 tūmāns.

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preparation, has now advanced to besiege Kandahār. The Persians more than a month ago sent an army to defend it, and the King himself is expected to follow shortly. *PS.*[1] (*18th*)—Two days ago arrived a packet from Aleppo, containing transcripts of letters from the Company already received, and of a fresh one dated November 13. Have little hope of being able to buy mace and nutmegs, for none of the former has come hither these many years, while of nutmegs the Dutch brought only some very bad ones this season, and these have long since been sold. Should they bring any of either kind in future, the factors doubt not to succeed in procuring a considerable quantity by secret means. Will obey the caution given concerning trusting themselves or their goods in the power of the Dutch. *PPS.*—Are just about to start for Ispahān. (*Copy.* 8¾ *pp.*)

THOMAS CODRINGTON AT ISPAHĀN TO MAURICE THOMSON IN LONDON, MAY 20, 1652 (*O.C.* 2271).

Hearing that Thomson is a well-wisher to the Company, he presumes to send him a copy of a letter dispatched in August, 1650 [*see the previous volume*, p. 313], exposing the misbehaviour of their servants. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

JOHN SPILLER, ABOARD THE *LANNERET* AT KUNG, TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JUNE 14, 1652 (*O.C.* 2272).

Wrote last on May 4. Next day passed the *Blessing*, bound for the Coast and Bengal. Anchored at Gombroon on May 15, and found the factors preparing to leave for Ispahān. Much regrets that definite instructions are still wanting as to the quantity of silk to be bought, for the Itimād-uddaula will probably urge the factors to take a considerable proportion, and if so, they must either risk giving offence to him and his master or buy perhaps more than the Company will approve. The Dutch have been forced to give an unreasonable price, after all their great expense. A ship is waiting to embark the ambassador and his followers, but he is not expected till September. He has already discharged part of his guard, possibly to save expense. Markets have been brisk. Was astonished to find that the Sind goods had been pronounced inferior in quality; thinks

[1] The original of this postcript will be found in the *O.C. Duplicates.*

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that this is untrue and that Lewis has been influenced by the broker, but will warn the Sind factors to be very careful in future. Forwards transcripts of letters received from the Company. Lewis and his companions started for Ispahān on May 19. Next day Spiller sailed, but the *Lanneret* could make no headway, and four days later was still off Kishm. Hearing that an English ship had arrived at Gombroon, Spiller put in there again. Found that the ship was the *Supply*, which had left Bantam on December 27 and had had a long and dangerous voyage. The cargo, consisting of pepper and sugar, was in the charge of a merchant named [Abraham] Hutchins, who had already dispatched to Lewis the letters he had brought. His instructions were to sell his goods and then proceed to Fort St. George. Spiller urged that the season was too late for this, and that it would be better to send the ship to Basra; but Hutchins would do nothing until answer should arrive from Lewis. On May 28 Spiller sailed again, but still found the wind unfavourable. On June 6, near Kishm, letters came to hand from Hutchins and the master of the *Supply*, announcing that they had decided, with Lewis's concurrence, to land their sugar and proceed to Basra with the pepper. Lewis's letter had been brought by Park, who was to go in the *Supply* to Basra for the benefit of his health. He wrote that the sugar had proved very bad and must be sold at a low price; also that Lewis had since recalled him, owing to the death of Wycherley at Shīrāz. Proceedings of the Portuguese fleet. Suggests that the vessel sent to Sind from Surat to fetch the goods for England might in the interim carry freight goods to Persia. On June 12 anchored at Kung, meeting the Portuguese fleet coming out. Their force so awes the Arabs that none of their vessels dares to put out from Muskat; 'against which place the Generall spent some shott, but no great hurt was don of either side'. None of the junks that left Lārībandar for this place about the same time as the *Lanneret* has yet arrived, but five from Surat were found riding here, besides two Portuguese merchantmen. One of these was unladen at this port; the other has proceeded to Basra. She is piloted by Christopher Evans, who was formerly purser of the *Lanneret* but deserted at Damān. Also found here two Sind junks, one belonging to the Multan Prince, the other 'the great Princes [Dārā's], that brought his servants that this ship went for [*see* p. 115], who had a tedious voyage and is also

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sayleing our way'. Hears that Weale, &c., have reached Basra and that markets are bad there. Leaves this packet at Kung for transmission to Surat. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

JOHN SPILLER AT BASRA TO THE COMPANY, JULY 17, 1652 (*O.C.* 2274).

Forwards a packet from Surat. Recounts his proceedings at Lārībandar, from which port he sailed on April 12, reaching Gombroon on May 15. Replies briefly to the Company's letters lately received, on the subject of the purchase of silk and spices. As yet nothing has been heard of 'that Armenian intended to be sent by the late Queene of England to disturbe your affaires in Persia';[1] so probably the project has been dropped. Will, as directed, refrain from giving offence to the King of Persia or his servants; but it is high time some effort were made to secure redress for their abuses in the matter of the Ormus customs. Will likewise be wary as regards the Dutch, especially as it is reported from Aleppo that many of their ships have been taken by the English, which makes it probable that war has already been proclaimed. Account of his departure from Gombroon and the arrival of the *Supply*. The Company have ordered 6,000 pieces of Sind baftas, the greater quantity to be of the Nasarpur make, because that is two yards longer than the Kandiāro cloth. This used to be the case, but of the late years the cloth bought at the latter place has been fully 15 yards in length, as against $14\frac{5}{8}$ at Nasarpur; so Spiller has ordered the provision of Kandiāro cloth, if possible, though last year the factors were not well treated there. The Gambat cloth is about $12\frac{1}{2}$ yards long, but two or three inches wider than that of Kandiāro. A quantity was bought last year for Eastern markets, though he fears that some has been sent home, of which the Company may not approve. Refers for details to enclosed copies of his letters to Surat. Last year he was allowed to visit that place, at his own request. He fully intended to return to Sind; but both Merry and Blackman

[1] See note on p. 126. Mr. Irvine (*Storia do Mogor*, vol. i. p. 75) refers to a letter (undated) in the Carte MSS., which seems to have been addressed to the Queen Mother by Khwāja Petrūs (doubtless the Armenian here referred to), proposing to intercept the Company's share of the Ormus dues. He offers to collect these on behalf of the King and remit two-thirds of the proceeds; or, as an alternative, suggests that some one be sent to Persia with him to receive there the two-thirds.

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pressed him to go to Persia and he felt bound to agree. Believes that the Sind trade will continue to be prosperous and profitable, in spite of the recent intrusion of the Dutch. ($4\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Received overland December* 3.)

MESSRS. SPILLER, WEALE, AND DANIEL AT BASRA TO THE COMPANY, JULY 26, 1652 (*O.C.* 2275).

Weale and Daniel arrived May 18, and found that the goods left last year in the charge of a broker had mostly been sold at 30 per cent. profit. The *Lanneret* came in on July 8, with Spiller on board. Three days later the *Falcon* reached this port, having left Surat on April 27 and Gombroon on June 22. Her cargo is unlikely to yield much profit, many of the goods being of poor quality. Several bales were damaged during the voyage, as also a number of those belonging to private merchants, who are clamouring for compensation. The *Supply* left Gombroon on June 14, but did not arrive here till July 21. Her pepper has come to a bad market, yielding only three rials of eight per Basra maund (which is about three-quarters of a Surat small maund). The Dutch have sold at the same rate, but have given the purchaser 'an allowance of a vakeer[1] upon every maund'—a new practice—and have also thrown in the gunny bags. This is likely to give trouble to the English, who have made no such allowance and whose pepper is mostly loose. Prices are so poor that little of the *Falcon's* cargo has yet been sold, and it may prove necessary for some of the factors to remain until next year in order to dispose of the stock. It is believed that the Dutch will sell off all their goods and leave no factors behind; their ship, the *Concordia*, is to sail in 15 or 20 days. They recently received news from Aleppo that the English had taken many of their ships, and this is probably a main reason of their deciding to depart. The *Supply* is bound for Surat. The *Falcon* is about to be trimmed, and when she is done the *Lanneret* will be treated in the same manner. The *Falcon* is to sail by August 20 at latest, and in her Spiller will embark. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Received overland December* 3.[2])

[1] The *ūqiyah* or *wuqiyyah*, of which twenty-four went to the maund: see the 1637–41 volume, p. 250.

[2] For a list of the packet see *O.C.* 2276.

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WILLIAM HARGRAVE AND ADAM LEE, ABOARD THE *ROEBUCK* IN BANTAM ROAD, TO [THE COMPANY], JULY 31, 1652 (*O.C.* 2277).

Account of their voyage, from their leaving the Isle of Wight (December 30) to their arrival here (June 26). List of goods taken in at this place, 'together with the President and his necessaries'. Intend to sail to-night (in company with the *Bonito*) for the Coromandel Coast, the *Endeavour* at the same time departing for Surat. Complain of the badness of their provisions. List of men dead or deserted. ($1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

MESSRS. LEWIS, YOUNG, PARK, AND JOSCELYN AT ISPAHĀN TO THE COMPANY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1652 (*O.C.* 2279).[1]

Since their arrival they have done their best to sell their goods, but with scant success, though they have got rid of their broadcloth at a fair price. Lewis is now about to start for Gombroon to embark in the *Falcon*. As regards the purchase of silk, they were pressed to give the same terms as the Dutch; but in the end the King and the Itimād-uddaula left them at liberty to make the best terms they could, and treated them very favourably. Vests were given to Lewis, Young, and the linguist; also to the first named, on his departure, a sword with a gold hilt, worth about eight tūmāns. A small present was made to the King, as in former years. The silk is excellent, and cost only 36 tūmāns 36 abbāsīs per load, besides petty charges; there are 57 bales of it, and it was sent to port nineteen days ago. They applied to the Itimād-uddaula for the half of any customs the Dutch should pay, but no answer was returned. 'Wee yett heare nothinge of the Scotts Kings agent; nor is that Cogee Pedro [*see* p. 129*n*.] arrived, though his employer, a Jelphalin [p. 66], whome wee verry well know, dayly expects him.' Wycherley died in Shīrāz on June 1. Park is ill, but his recovery is hoped for. The Portuguese have made some agreement with the Governor of Lar for their moiety of the customs at Kung, and are now on the look-out for their Arab enemies, 'whom they dare not assault in Muskatt; yett tis said on some adjacent iland they intend to fortifie'. The Indians had almost taken Kandahār, when a report of the death of Shāh Jahān caused them to retreat.

[1] For an abstract see *O.C.* 2278.

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It is also rumoured that Sultān Shūja has endeavoured to murder Dārā Shikoh, but though the latter received a stab with a 'conjawle' [*khanjar*], the wound proved not to be mortal; whereupon Shūja advanced on Agra and took possession of the royal treasure, 'his brother followeinge him thitherwards with a potent army'. Arrival of the *Supply* at Gombroon. Her cargo included a quantity of sugar belonging to Thomas Peniston, who pays 20 per cent. freight for the same. Measures taken for the sale of her sugar, and the dispatch of the vessel to Basra. Nothing heard of the other ships sent thither. *P.S.*—News has just arrived that Shāh Jahān is not dead, and that the retreat from Kandahār was caused by some disputes between his two elder sons. He has left his ordnance in Kābul with 20,000 soldiers. (3 *pp.*)

MESSRS. LEWIS, YOUNG, PARK, AND JOSCELYN AT ISPAHĀN TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 16, 1652 (*O.C.* 2280).[1]

Enclose a former letter, for which no conveyance could be found. Now answer one received by the *Falcon*. Their letter to the Company will show what has been done about the silk. Nearly 800 tūmāns received on account of this year's customs. Invoice of the silk, account sales, &c., now sent. Lewis will report concerning Best's estate. Details of goods sold. Young's ill health will delay the transmission of their books. Death of Wycherley, and disposal of his estate. Lewis and Park are going down with this caravan. The former has 'inventorized' all the *farmāns* and other books and papers, and taken a receipt for them from Young. This place is so expensive that they recommend a reconsideration of Joscelyn's salary. He acts as steward, and, though the house expenses may seem high, this is due to the rise of prices caused by want of rain. Recommend also increases of wages to two servants. (*Copy.* 2¾ *pp.*)

THOMAS CODRINGTON AT ISPAHĀN TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 25, 1652 (*O.C.* 2281).

Forwards copies of two previous letters addressed by him to the Company but suppressed by Best and Merry; also one he has now written to Maurice Thomson. Reiterates his charges against

[1] Abstracted in *O.C.* 2278.

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Lewis and defends his own conduct. Begs to be reinstated in the Company's service. (1¼ *pp. Received November* 25.)

AGENT FREDERICK SKINNER AND COUNCIL AT BANTAM TO PRESIDENT BAKER AND COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE, SEPTEMBER 25, 1652 (*O.C.* 2283[1]).

. . . Answer their letters of June 29 and July 2, which gave notice of what had happened on the Coast since May 28, including the return of Littleton and the Brahman from the Nawāb 'with the fruit of their labours, all beeing againe pacified with him'. . . . 'Now wee have noe less cause to greeve as you to rejoyce, wee for the abscence of such a President and you to bee glad that your sometime despiseable and unregarded place (as you termed itt) is at last thought by the Company worthy of so much honour as a Presidency and such a President.' . . . (*Extracts only.* ½ *p. The rest of the letter deals with Bantam, &c.*)

MESSRS. YOUNG AND JOSCELYN AT ISPAHĀN TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 25, 1652 (*O.C.* 2282).[2]

Lewis departed on the 19th. Goods sold since. Copies of their account books were entrusted to Lewis for delivery. Will hasten down to port when they have received the proceeds of sales. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND COUNCIL AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE FACTORS IN PERSIA, OCTOBER 4, 1652 (*O.C.* 2285).[3]

Note their dispatch of the *Blessing*. Their action in cashing a bill of exchange on Masulipatam, on the security of some pearls, has occasioned trouble there. Trust that they have not bought any silk at the high price the Dutch are giving. The *Smyrna Merchant* arrived from England on September 8, bringing a smaller stock than usual, as the Company desire to draw home by degrees the great stock they have in these parts. Only 33 bales of broadcloth have come, and, since the return of the Emperor from Kandahār is likely to improve the demand for that commodity, none will be sent

[1] For another copy see *O.C.* 2284. [2] Abstracted in *O.C.* 2278
[3] Abstracted in *O.C.* 2278.

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to Persia this year. The *Love* has got to Masulipatam, and sailed thence for Bengal on August 3. The *Endeavour* reached Swally from Bantam on September 18 and is now transferring part of her pepper to the *Smyrna Merchant*; she is to return to Bantam next month. Two vessels came from the Bay of Bengal last January, laden with sugar and other goods and commanded by Henry Cherry. Losing the monsoon, they put into Goa, where one of the passengers, a Moor, sued the master for damages sustained by his goods. Cherry not only made use of the Company's name to obtain favourable treatment from the Portuguese, but also wrote to Surat for letters to the principal officials, desiring them to assist him. This was done on his assurance that the voyage concerned the Company and was undertaken by the factors at the command of the Bengal Prince; but it has since been learnt that the story was untrue, both of the vessels and most of the goods belonging to private traders in the Bay. The President's intervention at Goa saved Cherry a large sum of money, and, since a present must be sent thither in acknowledgement, it is only right that the latter should contribute. Desire, therefore, that a sum of 200 rupees may be demanded from him on his arrival, and remitted to Surat. The Company's share of the customs due on the private traders' goods must be collected. Request that the fruit, wine, and rosewater to be sent hither this year may be better than the last supply. The *Assada Merchant* having proved leaky, the intention of sending her to Mozambique was abandoned and she was ordered into the river here for repair. Having been resheathed, she is now dispatched to Gombroon with freight and Company's goods as per invoice. There are 70 bales of indigo on board, of which 20 belong to the Company and 50 to Jesson. The best 20 of the whole lot should be sold as the Company's; and in disposing of the rest care should be taken not to prejudice their masters' interests. It may seem strange that the writers should enjoin this toleration of private trade; 'but what wee have don therein is thought for the service of the Company, and the busines hath bin soe ordred that wee beelive the private traders will have littell encouragement to practice the like heereafter.' The *Assada Merchant* should be returned as quickly as possible. If more than 50 bales of silk have been bought, not more than that number should be ventured in her, the rest being reserved

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for the *Falcon*, or sent by any vessel that may arrive from the Coast or Bay. (*Copy*. 3¾ *pp*.)

MESSRS. YOUNG AND JOSCELYN AT ISPAHĀN TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 12, 1652 (*O.C.* 2282).[1]

Goods sold since their last letter. Will sell all they can and leave the rest in the hands of brokers. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 28, 1652 (*O.C.* 2282).[2]

Have sold little since they last wrote. Are having much trouble over getting the stocking-makers to pay for the broadcloth. The Sultān of Gombroon has complained to the Itimād-uddaula of the action of the English in seizing two Rājāpur junks; but they hope to justify these proceedings. On the King's return from his progress, they went to meet him and were allowed to kiss his foot; but the Dutch were not accorded this favour. (*Copy*. 2 *pp*.)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 4, 1652 (*O.C.* 2282).[3]

Last month they visited the Itimād-uddaula, who was about to accompany the King to 'the pleasant place of Dowlattabaud';[4] but nothing was said about the capture of the Rājāpur junks. The markets are likely to be still worse, now the King has departed. Will probably have to stay till the middle of next month, to get in the money for the broadcloth. Are selling at low rates to get rid of their goods. (*Copy*. 1 *p*.)

PRESIDENT BAKER'S AWARD, NOVEMBER 5, 1652 (*Madras Public Consultations, October* 30, 1707).[5]

There having been of late many disputes between the two castes of the Right Hand and of the Left Hand, the following agreement is now made, and it is decided that whichever shall be the first to

[1] Abstracted in *O.C.* 2278.

[2] Abstracted in *O.C.* 2278.

[3] Abstracted in *O.C.* 2278.

[4] There are two places of this name, one to the north and the other to the south of Ispahān.

[5] The original is not preserved. The present version was placed on record in the time of Governor Pitt, who was troubled by similar disputes; and it is stated to have been made from 'a paper in the Gentue language' signed by President Baker, Agent Greenhill, William Gurney, Koneri Chetti, and Sehsādri Nāyak. See Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. i. p. 118, where the Award is printed in full, with explanatory notes.

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break it in regard to weddings and burials shall forfeit a thousand dollars. Certain portions of the native town are allotted to each caste for their exclusive residence, and rules are laid down as to the streets through which marriage and funeral processions may pass. 'Before the Fort is free for all.' (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS PARK AT GOMBROON TO THE FACTORS AT ISPAHĀN, NOVEMBER 17, 1652 (*O.C.* 2292).[1]

Advised on October 31 the departure of Lewis in the *Supply*. The *Assada Merchant* arrived November 1, under Robert Thomson; enclose copy of the letter she brought. On the 6th he received letters from the Company, dated June 18, which have now been transmitted in her to Surat. These advise the probability of war between England and Holland, a large number of Dutch ships having already been taken; the factors in the East are therefore warned to be on their guard, and orders are given to send home the *Roebuck* and *Blessing* at once. To lessen charges, all factors that can be spared are to be returned to England. The *Assada Merchant* sailed on the 13th current, carrying a quantity of red earth desired by the Company. Particulars of her freight, &c. Henry Cherry arrived on November 11 with one of his two vessels. Obtained from him seven tūmāns (as the equivalent of 200 rupees) and sent it to Surat by Thomson. Has permitted Cherry to bring his goods into the Company's house, in order to avoid disputes with the Persians; this will enable the Company's dues to be exactly computed. The *Seahorse* had not returned from Mokha when the *Assada Merchant* left Swally. A small parcel of pepper sold. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

HENRY GREENHILL AND WILLIAM GURNEY AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO PRESIDENT BAKER, NOVEMBER 25, 1652 (*O.C.* 2293).

Having received information of divers abuses committed by William Winter, they summoned him hither from Masulipatam. He appeared about a month before the President's arrival from Bantam, but they thought it well to await the coming of the latter before doing anything, and moreover the papers in the case were not all ready. The principal heads are as follows:[2] (1) At

[1] Abstracted in *O.C.* 2278.

[2] For depositions in support of these charges see *O.C.* 2322.

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Vizagapatam he prevented Bartholomew Gidleigh from obtaining satisfaction for the theft of his desk. (2) He refused to recognize Gidleigh as purser of the *Dove* or to allow him any control of the ship's expenditure. (3) Gidleigh declares that Winter could not have spent half the money he charged for his journey to 'Checacull' [Chicacole]. When this item was questioned at Masulipatam, he offered to strike off 30 rials, but Leigh replied that 'those wear noe taylors bills'. (4) Christopher Yardley declares that Winter put off new pagodas at 12½ fanams each, but in making up the accounts of the *Dove* he reckoned the new pagoda at less than three-quarters of the old. (5) He picked out the weightiest of the Company's rials for his own use, replacing them by light ones and charging the resultant loss to the Company. (6) He is charged with selling a quantity of 'dammer' [resin] without bringing it to account for a long time. (7) He is accused of cheating Gawton, who will supply particulars on his return from Bengal in the *Love*. (8) Leigh declares that Winter procured a false attestation against him regarding some broadcloth used at Petapoli: that he brought some rice freight-free from Vizagapatam and charged it to the *Dove's* account at 60 or more per cent. profit, though it was bought with the Company's money: and that he has 'undone William Bradbent in body and purse, by cheating and evill conversacion, espeacially in one badd bargayne of selling him a light wench for 40 heavy dollars'. (9) He has declared that, if the Agent made any difficulty, 'hee would tell him in his eare that hee knew of his private trading'. This is a brief abstract of what is alleged against Winter; to which the writers would only add that he seems to be conscious of his guilt, for he pressed Greenhill to conclude the matter before the President's arrival, and, on this being refused, he 'combined with as great delinguents as himselfe, vizt. the Brahmines Vincate and Conapa',[1] in their accusations against Greenhill and others. This will be evident on a perusal of the papers containing the said accusations; and moreover it is known that Winter has been consorting with the Brahmans 'at Conar Chittyes house'. 'Vincate' has threatened to ruin this place with himself, and unless steps be taken to restrain him and his associates, the threat seems likely to be made good. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.* *Received in London, June* 30, 1656).

[1] Venkata and his brother Kānappa.

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WILLIAM HARGRAVE, ADAM LEE, AND SAMUEL BROWN, ABOARD THE *ROEBUCK* AT MADRASPATAM, TO [THE COMPANY], DECEMBER 6, 1652 (*O.C.* 2294).

Enclose transcript of their letter of July 31. Sailed from Bantam on that day, in company with the *Bonito* and *Endeavour*. The last named parted company on August 4; the other two arrived at this place on September 1. They had on board a quantity of 'mace'[1] from Macassar, which were 'quoined into new pagodaes and reshipt on board'. They then sailed on September 23 for Masulipatam, where they arrived three days later and landed the pagodas and their goods. On October 5 they were in considerable danger, owing to a violent storm; and consequently on the 9th the *Roebuck* and the *Bonito* moved to 'Emaldee Road', and there went into 'the Hole', which is a very secure harbour. Remained until November 11, when they were summoned back to Masulipatam, landed a quantity of pepper, and took in certain goods and passengers. With these they sailed on the 30th for Fort St. George, staying on the way at Pulicat to land the wife of the Dutch second. Reached Madraspatam December 5, and are now awaiting orders to proceed to Gombroon. Have already complained of the badness of their provisions. Enclose a list of runaways and dead men. (*2 pp.*)

HENRY YOUNG AND EDWARD JOSCELYN AT ISPAHĀN TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 10, 1652 (*O.C.* 2296).[2]

Enclose copies of their last letter and of a subsequent one to Surat. Few goods since sold, the markets being very dull. The *Falcon* left Gombroon about September 20, intending to land Spiller at Lārībandar and then proceed to Surat. The *Supply* arrived at Gombroon from Basra on October 15 and sailed for Surat on the 28th, with Lewis aboard. The *Lanneret* came in on October 24, and departed in company with the *Supply*, but was to call at Lārībandar to embark the Sind goods and Spiller, and to carry them to Surat. Enclose a copy of a Surat letter [of October 4]. Are confident that the pearls sent to Masulipatam will prove to be worth more than the money advanced on them. On December 4 the

[1] A gold coin (Malay *mas*, 'gold') current in the Eastern Archipelago.

[2] There is a copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*; also an abstract in *O.C.* 2278. A Dutch version will be found in *Hague Transcripts* (series i. vol. xviii. no. 548).

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Dutch here received letters from Europe which they at once forwarded to Gombroon; and since they have stated that war has broken out between England and Holland, and that in consequence the hostilities commenced by the latter country against the Portuguese are to be abandoned, 'that they may the better deale with us'. Probably, however, this decision comes too late, as the Dutch have already seized several Portuguese vessels in Indian waters without a declaration of war. The Company's letters have been transmitted to Surat. Arrival and departure of the *Assada Merchant*. Refer to other letters regarding Cherry's vessels and the seizure of Rājāpur junks. The rumours of the death of Shāh Jahān and of civil war between his sons are now contradicted. 'The occasion of theire leaveinge Candahore is supposed to bee through a difference which fell out beetweene the borderinge Tartarians and the Indians; soe that tis reported Shaw Jehan is resolved to beseege it againe in March next, and tis likewise said that this King intends to encounter him there with his army.' The Portuguese are reported to have been very successful against the Arabs in the Gulf, though they have not yet taken Muskat. Recently they were reinforced from Goa, and they are now said to have sixty or seventy vessels in the Gulf, which may enable them to take the offensive against the Dutch. News has come that a new Viceroy [*see* p. 83*n*.] had reached Goa with three ships, and that his other five were expected daily. Intend to leave for Gombroon in five or six days. (2¾ *pp. Received May* 16, 1653.)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND MESSRS. PEARCE, OXENDEN, AND BRETON AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 10, 1652 (*O.C.* 2297).[1]

Their previous letter of April 24 miscarried on its way from Basra to Aleppo, the messenger having been robbed; they therefore forward a transcript, together with the present letter, by the *Falcon* to Basra, for dispatch overland. Will write at greater length by the *Smyrna Merchant*, which will sail by January 10. From the Agra letter of April 30 it is evident that Davidge has abused the Company, but it is hoped that the latter have enough of his in their hands to make satisfaction. During the rains most of the staff here have been ill, but all have recovered save two young men that came

[1] There is another copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

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from Assada in the *Blessing*. The *Smyrna Merchant* arrived safely on September 7, bringing the Company's letter of March 16. Part of her broadcloth, as also some that was on hand, they have sent to Agra, where it is likely to be in demand owing to the King's return to 'Dilly, the place of his delight, where its thought hee will remayne in peace and prosecute the warr noe further, especially in his owne person'. The rest of the broadcloth will be forwarded to the same place later. The elephants' teeth proved deficient in weight and number, and many were damaged; but they have been sold at 35 rupees per maund. The most vendible are those from 16 to 30 lb. in weight apiece; those under 16 lb. lose a third in value. The lead has not been disposed of, as the new Governor[1] offers only eight mahmūdīs per maund, and no one else dares to buy it, 'being the Kings comodity.' Part has been sent down the coast in the *Seahorse*; while the rest has been temporarily put aboard the *Falcon* as ballast. If the Governor will give no more, they must accept his price; but it will establish a bad precedent. The coral has been either sold here or dispatched to Agra; ten chests will sell yearly, if the quality be good. The tapestry is still on hand; 'such things are hardly put off here, especially when they have any imagary in them, as these have in the borders off angles and chiribins.' Shāistah Khān, for whom they were intended, has been notified and has promised to send his man to see them. The quicksilver was in better condition than usual; but the market was depressed, first by the sales of private traders and then by the arrival of a Dutch ship with a very large quantity. On getting private notice of this, they at once sold all their stock for what they could get. The vermilion has been sent to Agra. The silver ingots fetched rather more than last year. The rials of eight realized 215¼ rupees per hundred of the old or Seville rials, and 212¾ rupees per hundred of the new or Mexico kind. Were glad to learn that the Company had decided to send no more of the coarse Peru rials. The paper received was very bad and quite insufficient in quantity. Will be careful in expending the ships' stores forwarded, but desire a fresh supply, as per the enclosed list. Express their gratitude for the wine and the beer, though they could have wished the former to

[1] His name was Hāfiz Nāsr (see *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 538, and vol. xx. no. 586).

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be better. The 'chirurgery' chest contained many unnecessary items, and the cordials were very bad; forward a list of things to be sent in future. Now answer the Company's letter. Have already advised the closing of the accounts of the Second General Voyage. Wish they could say the same of those of the Fourth Joint Stock, but Vīrjī Vōra will not be induced to clear his account unless allowed an abatement which they think unreasonable. Though they have offered to refer the dispute to the arbitration of any merchants here, he refuses to agree to such a course, and the only remedy seems to be to appeal to the King. Desire instructions on the point. Methwold will be able to inform the Company fully about the matter. There will, however, be a considerable sum payable to the Fourth Joint Stock, though not so much as was advised per the *Eagle*, owing to a mistake in the valuation of shipping and houses; so they have drawn bills of exchange on the United Joint Stock, in favour of the Fourth, for 15,000*l.*, reserving enough to clear the latter here, even if they allow Vīrjī Vōra the reduction he claims. Although the gold ducats brought by the *Love* came to a bad market, and were also bought too dearly, it is certain that a profit can be made on gold. All such coins are sold by weight, 'not vallued for there quoyne'. 'English standard gold is worth here 3*l.* 12*s.* [per oz.], cleare of all charges . . . . and you neede not doubt of that price, for its more likely to rise then to fall.' Of the three factors ordered home in the *Love*, Walwyn is dead, Cook has returned, and Hammersly will follow as soon as he can clear himself from debt. He is only allowed his diet at the Company's expense, and for this he promises to make satisfaction when he is able; 'till then in charity wee may not lett him starve'. Will do their best to supply the Company with nutmegs and mace. Of the two Assada planters that were left here, James has returned, while Porter remains in the country, endeavouring to recover what he lost in that venture. His operations cannot damage the Company; but in any case they do not think they have the power to send him home, since the commission now forwarded[1] (which they conceive is a duplicate of the

[1] As the result of the appeal from Surat for authority to deal with refractory Englishmen (see p. 43), the Company, in October, 1651, petitioned the Council of State, but all they could obtain was an exemplification, under the Great Seal, of the grant of 1623 (see note on p. 65 of the 1624–29 volume; also *Court Minutes*, 1650–54, pp. 125, 130, 132).

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former) 'extends noe further then to those that are in your imployment'. The proportion of twenty men in the hundred permitted to be exchanged out of the crew of the *Smyrna Merchant* will not suffice to satisfy all those here who are clamouring to go home, and complaining that they are kept here as slaves. Reiterate their recommendation that a larger number be made exchangeable, the shipowners to be bound thereto by charterparty. Fear that there will be trouble in the present instance, as the sailors were not engaged in England to remain in India, if called upon. The Company's sailors here are much aggrieved to see those of freighted ships come out and go home in the same vessel, while they themselves are obliged to remain, sometimes seven years, mostly against their wills. It is true that the owners would have to pay higher wages to men liable to be detained in India; but the present system is responsible for much private trade. It is easy enough for a sailor to borrow in England for this purpose if he goes only for the voyage; while if it were uncertain when he would return, he would get little credit. Note the instructions not to take money into their cash at more than 5*s*. the rial of eight. Were glad to hear that the London markets had revived. Trust to supply all the goods desired by the *Smyrna Merchant*. Owing to the excessive rains, the Agra portion could not be dispatched thence until October 17, and this has entailed some delay in the departure of the ship. The directions as to accounts shall be punctually observed. George Oxenden, their Purser-General, intends to go home in the vessel, and will be able to inform the Company fully on all such points. John Chambers also returns, being dissatisfied with the salary allotted to him. Wycherley is dead. Daniel and Gollofer thank the Company for the wages appointed to them. Note that the augmentation of the salaries of the Agra &c. factors is left to be decided at Surat. Anthony Clitherow died November 7 of a fever; in him the Company have lost a most faithful and industrious servant. The application of Tulsī Dās Pārak for increased remuneration may be disregarded, as he has been replaced by Benī Dās, who is content with the ordinary salary. Lewis has succeeded in dissuading the King of Persia from sending merchants to England, and the latter were taken to Masulipatam instead. The 'masty doggs' are yet alive, but the Irish greyhound sent out is dead; two or three large

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mastiffs should be provided yearly for presentation to that King. No more 'seamorss teeth' should be sent, as they yield little or no profit. Have already advised the steps taken to recover compensation for the seizure of the *Ruth's* stock and of the broadcloth belonging to the Second General Voyage. As a result, the *Falcon*, in her return from Basra, surprised two junks belonging to 'Sattolee' [Sātavlī], near Rājāpur; one was released, after everything of value had been taken out of her, while the other was brought to Surat. Thereupon the governors of Sātavlī and Rājāpur wrote, entreating that the goods and the second vessel might be restored, and promising to make satisfaction.[1] It has been decided to comply, especially as the Governor of Surat objected to the sale here of the captured goods; so the *Seahorse* has been sent to Sātavlī with the junk and the goods to get what she can, afterwards proceeding to Goa. The cargoes of the two ships are estimated at about 2,000*l.*, mostly belonging to Rāybāg merchants, including the one who was chiefly responsible for the seizure of the *Ruth's* stock. Will advise the result later. Having now answered the Company's letter, they proceed to give particulars of ships arrived, their cargoes, and the sums earned for freight. The *Endeavour* reached this port from Bantam on September 21. Five days later came news that the *Love* had arrived at Fort St. George and had gone on to Bengal. On November 2 a further letter from the Coast advised the arrival of the *Roebuck* and *Bonito* at the Fort on September 2, bringing President Baker, whose wife died on the voyage, about ten days after leaving Bantam.[2] The *Seahorse* came in from Mokha on October 16, having made little beyond her freight money, owing to bad markets. The *Falcon* and her prize arrived on November 4.

[1] The letters from the two governors are transcribed under *O.C.* 2286, 2287. A copy of a further letter from fourteen merchants of Rājāpur, soliciting the English to resume their relations with that port, forms no. 2288; while Blackman's replies to all three communications are given under nos. 2289–91. In these he demands from the Governor of Rājāpur the payment in Surat of 42,846¼ pagodas as compensation for the broadcloth seized at Rājāpur, apart from what is due on account of the *Ruth's* goods.

[2] Her tombstone is still to be seen in the compound of St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George, having been removed thither from the old burial-ground in the native town (Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. i. p. 113). A sketch of the arms, &c., on it is given in Mrs. Penny's book on Fort St. George. From entries in the *Court Minutes* for Sept. 8, 1648, and Nov. 7, 1651, it would appear that Mrs. Baker was a daughter of Ralph Cartwright, President at Bantam, 1643–45.

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The next to appear was the *Supply*, from Basra and Gombroon, bringing Lewis with 57 bales of silk, bought, by the King's permission, from private merchants at 38 tūmāns a load, whereas the Dutch paid the King 48 tūmāns for what they purchased from him. The English share of the Ormus customs amounted to nearly 800 tūmāns, but even this sum is less than one-tenth of what it should rightly be. The *Lanneret* came with the *Supply* from Gombroon, but was to call at Lārībandar on the way. The *Assada Merchant*, after repair, was dispatched to Gombroon on October 6 and returned November 29, bringing letters from the Company dated June 18. Note the warning contained therein about the Dutch, though for the present there is little likelihood of danger here from them, as they will probably not begin hostilities without orders from Batavia, and these are not to be expected before the end of February. It is understood that the Hollanders have trouble in Amboina and are not likely to be able to send a fleet this way at present; and moreover, they are at war with the Portuguese, several of whose vessels they have already captured. Still, it has been decided to cancel the return voyage of the *Endeavour* to Bantam, for fear of her being intercepted; she and the *Supply* are to remain at Swally to help secure the road until the *Smyrna Merchant* is ready to sail, and will then accompany her some distance, afterwards proceeding to Gombroon. The *Falcon* is now about to depart with a good cargo for that port, and will be ordered to remain under the guns of the castle at Ormus or in some other secure place until further instructions. The *Lanneret* will probably accompany the *Endeavour* and *Supply* to Persia, and between them they will carry all the goods intended thither this season, the proceeds of which will be as safe in Persia as in India, even if it be found unsafe to return them. The *Assada Merchant* is about to sail to the East African coast, calling on her way at Johanna and St. Augustine's Bay to obtain news from the outward-bound fleet. The *Seahorse*, on her return from Goa, will probably have to be laid up here, the better to man the remaining ships. The *Blessing* and *Roebuck* are not expected until the middle or end of March; and before they leave Persia advice will be sent thither as to what is best to be done. It will not be safe to venture any vessel to Basra; and they must also forgo all investments for the Persian market next year. Have ordered the provision of goods at

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Agra for Europe; also the remittance thence to Hūglī of 10,000 rupees to begin the sugar investment, as there is almost 40 per cent. difference between prices in February and those in the time of shipping (August and September). Should it be impossible to transport the sugar by sea, it can be disposed of to profit inland. (*Copy.* 10 *pp.*)

THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE FACTORS IN PERSIA, DECEMBER 10, 1652 (*O.C.* 2298).[1]

Refer to previous correspondence. The silk &c. duly arrived in the *Supply* on November 25. Trust that the sale of goods will be expedited. Regret the death of Wycherley, and are surprised to learn that he died insolvent. Joscelyn's salary will be considered shortly; also the wages of the linguist and customhouse writer. Directions as to charging the freight earned by the *Supply*. The money she brought hither is being remitted by exchange to Masulipatam. The three horses arrived safely. The *Lanneret* has not yet appeared, nor the Dutch *Concordia* from Sind, though both are daily expected. The former will be returned to Gombroon. Reprove the factors for making known the reference in the Company's letter to a possible war with the Dutch. If any loss occurs on 'the pawne of pearles', the Gombroon broker will have to make it good. Cherry writes that he gave large presents to the Vedor da Fazenda at Goa; but he did not say this before, and the Vedor has made no reference to it. Several letters have been received from Balasore, yet no mention is made therein of Cherry's vessels, and so their ownership is still in doubt; what is due from them to the Company should therefore be secured. Mistake in a bale of goods. Provisions sent. Account of the lading of this ship, the *Falcon*. Her cargo is not likely to find much competition from hence, and so the factors need not hurry to sell. The vessel should be sent back at once, with what freight they can procure. It is not likely that the Dutch will begin hostilities in these parts for the present; but the factors must be guided by the news from Europe. Gun carriages sent for the *Blessing*, in order that she may mount the guns she has in her hold. If she and the *Roebuck* sail together, they ought to be able to hold their own against any two of the ships the Dutch have in these waters. Care should be taken to give the latter no provo-

[1] There is another copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

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cation, but not to trust them upon any pretence of friendship. Should a fight occur, it is hoped that 'our people would shew themselves Englishmen here in India as well as our freinds at home, when one Englishman thinks himselfe as good as two Dutchmen, and by Gods blessing have proved themselves so.' *P.S.*—Enclose a packet for transmission to the Company, with a letter for the Consul at Aleppo. Deficiencies in the money brought by the *Supply*. (*Copy*. 3¼ *pp.*)

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO JEREMY RAYMAN, MASTER OF THE *ASSADA MERCHANT*, DECEMBER 12, 1652 (*O.C.* 2299).

Having embarked Nicholas Buckeridge, Richard Aston, and John Mudgett, he is to sail to 'the Cape of Corinthes' [Cape Corrientes] or thereabouts, and thence along the coast of Sofala, Mozambique, and Malindi. Buckeridge is to direct the movements of the ship. Junks belonging to the Bijāpur ports, viz. from Goa to Chaul, should be seized and brought to Surat. If a fight occurs, the crew may be promised one-sixth of what is taken: All business of consequence is to be managed by a council. In the event of the master's death, the chief mate, Joseph Collins, is to succeed him. *P.S.*—He must be on his guard against the Dutch and other possible enemies. (*Copy*. 2½ *pp.*)

CHRISTOPHER YARDLEY AT MASULIPATAM TO THOMAS TOMLINS, SAMUEL SAMBROOK, AND MICHAEL DUNKIN[1] DECEMBER 27, 1652 (*O.C.* 2300).

Received from William Pearce, purser of the *Love*, their joint letter and a small ingot of gold, which had cost 3*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* the ounce. This he sold, and invested the proceeds, as desired, in piece-goods, which are now forwarded in the *Love* under the care of Bartholomew Hill. Will be glad to perform similar services in future. (¾ *p.*)

THOMAS CHAMBER AT MASULIPATAM TO THE SAME, DECEMBER [27?], 1652 (*O.C.* 2302).

Advises the dispatch, under the care of William Pearce, of a bale

[1] All three were members of the Company's London staff, and their indulgence in this clandestine trade was of course a contravention of their duty.

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of piece-goods bought with the ingot of gold they sent out in the same way. ($\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

WILLIAM GURNEY AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO SAMUEL SAMBROOK,[1] JANUARY 8, 1653 (*O.C.* 1806).

Has received his letter per the *Love*; also, by the hand of William Pearce, an ingot of gold as the produce of the five parcels of pepper consigned by him to Sambrook in the *William*. Thanks the latter for selling the pepper for him, and rejoices that his letter 'scaped itts perusall by the Committee, which, had it not, it might have been prejudiciall both to you and mee'. Sends Sambrook 'a patch[2] [of] moorees, which please to demaund from my brother[3] Bridgeman'. (1 *p.* *Seal.*)

HENRY GREENHILL AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO MESSRS TOMLINS, SAMBROOK, AND DUNKIN IN LONDON, JANUARY 8, 1653 (*O.C.* 2303).

Received from William Pearce the gold and coral mentioned in their letter. Dares not return any white cloth, but sends instead 23 diamonds, weighing $22\frac{1}{4}$ carats, or about $16\frac{1}{4}$ 'manjeleens',[4] and costing $10\frac{1}{2}$ pagodas new (8*s.* each) per 'manjelee'. ($\frac{1}{2}$ *p.*)

EDWARD PEARCE AT SWALLY TO THE SAME, JANUARY 10, 1653 (*O.C.* 2304).

Acknowledges the receipt of their letter of March 17, by the *Smyrna Merchant*, and of the articles accompanying it. The enclosed account will show how these have been sold, and what returns have been made. Regrets the small amount of profit. Thanks them for forwarding him a butt of beer, though he never saw it. Tomlins sent out three butts in his own name, for the

[1] Though addressed as 'Merchant, in Coleman Street, London', this was evidently the Samuel Sambrook who was in the Company's office, and rose to be Keeper of the Calico Warehouse. By a curious slip, Gurney has antedated his letter ten years, and this naturally led to its being misplaced in the collection. The date now assigned is amply supported by internal evidence.

[2] Piece (see the 1624–29 vol., p. 318).

[3] Brother-in-law. Bridgman had married the writer's sister, Prothesia (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 158).

[4] Telegu *manjāli*, the seed of the *Adenanthera pavonina*, used in Southern India for weighing precious stones.

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President, Gollofer, and the writer; but as only one proved good and they could not agree as to its allotment, it was decided that Gollofer should sell it for the account of the senders. (¾ *p.*)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND MESSRS. PEARCE, (GEORGE) OXENDEN, BRETON, AND LEWIS AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT GOMBROON, JANUARY 15, 1653 (*O.C.* 2305).[1]

Now send them the *Lanneret* with a good cargo, and desire her immediate return. The *Blessing*, *Roebuck*, and *Supply* will be with them shortly, but whether it will be safe to dispatch those ships to the Coast will depend on whether war has actually broken out with Holland. Any silk the Company may order in their expected letters overland should be procured. Urge special efforts to sell the goods taken over from the Fourth Joint Stock. Young's salary raised to 60*l.*, and Joscelyn given 25*l.* per annum. Anthony Daniel sent to assist for the present, proceeding to Basra later. Spices to be bought for England. *PS.*—A certain sum to be recovered from their customhouse broker. The factors have an account of goods entered by strangers in the Surat customhouse for exportation to Gombroon, which shows how much the Company are abused in the customs of the latter place; use should be made of this to claim an increased amount the present year. Since the Dutch are now liable for customs, the half of what they pay should be demanded. It would also be an advantage if a *farmān* could be obtained from the King, 'declareing that, when he did give the Dutch their custome free, he did not grant them any thing of what belonged to the Companies halfe, but left us to receive it of them if wee cann.' (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

THE SAME AND JOHN SPILLER AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 17, 1653 (*O.C.* 2297).[2]

In May last they ordered the factory at Lucknow to be dissolved, it being 'very remote and chargeable', while the goods provided there can equally well be procured at Agra. Jesson, the chief at the latter station, fully agreed in this measure, especially as the quantity of goods required has been reduced by the lessened demand

[1] There is another copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*.
[2] For a copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

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for Persia. The Lucknow factors have been directed to come down to Surat, and their early arrival is expected. Most of the Company's estate under this Presidency is now in Persia, in commodities unsold to the value of over 40,000*l.*, of which 5,000*l.* consists of goods turned over from the Fourth Joint Stock; every endeavour will be made to dispose of these. Since writing last, they have ordered the *Falcon* to return as soon as possible from Gombroon, the coast being clear of enemies; and by her they hope to receive a considerable sum. She is to stop on her way out at Lārībandar, to land Thomas Reynardson, who has been appointed chief of the Sind factories: and on her return she is to call there to bring away Henry Gary, who is to replace George Oxenden here. The last named goes home in the *Smyrna Merchant*, and they commend him to the Company's favour. Enclose an abstract, from the Surat customhouse registers, of the goods belonging to Moors and Banyans sent last year for Persia; this will show how much the Company are abused in the Ormus customs and may induce them to take steps to vindicate their rights. A copy has been sent to the Persian factors to show to the King or the Itimād-uddaula, in the hope of obtaining a better share next time. The *Smyrna Merchant* is now ready to sail for England, with a cargo importing 506,639 mahmūdīs, details of which will be found in the invoice. In her go as passengers Breton, Lewis, Elder, and Chambers. The first named has long served the Company 'in eminent imployments' and for the past two years has been chief at Ahmadābād; but as yet he has received no adequate reward for his services to both the Fourth and the United Joint Stocks. Had hoped to send back Hammersly also, since they had prevailed with his creditors to forgo all claims for interest, to take such part of the principal as he could manage to pay, and to accept his bill for the rest; but he perversely refused to agree to these terms, and now he has gone no one knows whither, without paying anybody. In accordance with the Company's permission, they have granted the following increases of salary: William Jesson, from 80*l.* to 100*l.* per annum; Charles Milward and Nicholas Scrivener, from 25*l.* to 40*l.* each; William Bell, from 10*s.* per month to 25*l.* per year; Richard Craddock, from 10*s.* per month to 10*l.* per year; Henry Young, from 36*l.* to 60*l.*; Edward Joscelyn, 25*l.* per annum. Beg the Company to confirm these increases, which are to take effect from

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January 1, and to continue for three years. Have managed to procure a little spice for England, and would have bought more, had not the competition of private traders raised prices to an exorbitant height. Have done their best to stop the stream of private trade, but without result. 'Most parte of those wee imploy to hinder it turne confederats; such as doe not, procure themselves a beateing and dare act noe more. And when our brokers have bein terified with our threats, those that belong to the Dutch have bein made use off, and entred cloth and quicksilver in there names and it goeth for currant.' Endeavoured to make seizure of a quantity of such goods in the customhouse, but the owners defeated their efforts. Enclose a list of broadcloth and quicksilver entered there by private traders, which will show how well this market would be supplied if the Company sent none at all. A remedy must be found in England, for here they are powerless. These traders are equally unscrupulous in buying prohibited goods for England; for recently they, in defiance of the President and Council, bought at a higher price a quantity of cardamoms for which the latter were in treaty, and it is said that the goods are now going home in the *Smyrna Merchant*. Are sending all their broadcloth to Agra. Future consignments should include some cloths of the colours shown in the enclosed patterns. If the Company could prevent private trade in this commodity, it would yield considerable profit. The claim of Tulsī Dās Pārak against President Breton's estate has been settled, and the money may now be made over to the executors. The *Seahorse* returned from Goa on January 11, and reported that the new Viceroy had ordered the restitution of the money exacted last year at Mozambique for customs; this is to be invested in gold or elephants' teeth, and paid to the Company's representatives on arrival. No cinnamon could be procured at Goa. The merchants of Rājāpur were so alarmed at the threat of further reprisals that they sent hither 20,000 'larres' [*lārīs*: see the 1618–21 volume, p. 227], which is more than the principal of the debt, and have promised to pay next year what they can; they plead that they are very poor, and declare that this money was collected among themselves, the King contributing nothing. Hope therefore to clear the account next year. In consequence of what was written to Sātavlī, the Governor himself came hither in the *Seahorse*; but he makes no offer of compensation,

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merely begging them to make peace and forgo their claims. Have thought it best to let him take his own time; 'for they are a dillatory people, and the more they are urged on buisines, the more adverss they are.' Still, the money and goods in hand on this account amount to over 2,000*l.*, which will be remitted home, for the benefit of the adventurers in the *Ruth*, when the Company shall send instructions; by which time the whole business will probably have been settled to satisfaction. Some silk captured in the Deccan prize has been put aboard the *Smyrna Merchant* on account of those adventurers. Should the news of war with Holland be confirmed, they will endeavour to send home the *Roebuck* at the end of the monsoon; but as yet they have not heard of her departure from the Bay. After lading the *Smyrna Merchant*, they have still on hand a quantity of sugar and indigo. There are also at Ahmadābād about 200 bales of saltpetre, which the new Governor detains there. Enclose an answer to the letter from the Council of State, sealed but not endorsed. Forward a copy[1] and beg that, if this be approved, the original may be addressed to the proper person, as they understand that the Lord President has been changed. The Company permitted the Worshipful Samuel Moyer to send out by the *Smyrna Merchant* 100 rials of eight to be invested in necessaries for his house;[2] this proving insufficient, they have made up the balance from the Company's cash, leaving the difference to be recovered at home. Enclose a bill of exchange on William Keatly for money advanced to his brother John for expenses here;[3] the latter has since died on board the *Smyrna*

[1] This now forms *O.C.* 2295. The original was apparently written by President Blackman to John Bradshaw, then Lord President of the Council. It begins by expressing pleasure that the Council should, in the midst of other weighty affairs, find time to promote the interests of the nation in places so far away as India. Mention is made of the impression produced by the restitution of some goods belonging to Armenian merchants found aboard a captured French ship (see p. 66); and it is hoped that means will be adopted to preserve the English in the East from the tyranny of the Dutch. The latter proclaimed war at Batavia against the Portuguese in May, 1652, and have already taken several of their ships; but are likely to be hampered by a revolt in Amboina. In India the Company's servants give no trouble to other Englishmen his commission does not extend, but since the report of 'a new commission from the Parliament', they have been awed into a better attitude. The letter concludes by expressing confidence that the State will protect the English here against any aggression from the Dutch, who 'in these parts are too strong for us'.

Nothing has been found in the *Court Minutes* regarding this correspondence.

[2] See *Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 156. [3] See *Ibid.*, 1650–54, p. 160.

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Merchant. Daniel Elder has changed his mind and has now obtained leave to go home overland.[1] (*6 pp. Received July* 8, 1653.)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE FACTORS IN PERSIA, JANUARY 28, 1653 (*O.C.* 2309).[2]

The *Endeavour* is now sent towards them with freight and other goods. She should be returned at once, in order to proceed to Bantam. The Company's goods aboard her may either be sold in Persia or reserved for Basra. Some sugar sent for a trial of the markets; also a quantity of cardamoms. Encloses a list of Agra piece-goods likely to be forwarded shortly to them in the *Supply*. Nothing yet heard from the Coast of the arrival of the *Blessing* from the Bay, or of the departure of the *Roebuck* for Gombroon. It is doubtful, therefore, whether there will be time for them to come hither from the latter place in search of freight. Michael Peach, a mate in the *Endeavour*, has permission to transship into either the *Blessing* or the *Roebuck*, in order to return the sooner to England. *P.S.*—Elder embarks in this ship, intending to go home overland; he is commended to their assistance. *Annexed*: (i) an abstract of the cargo; (ii) the list of piece-goods referred to. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BAKER AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO HENRY GREENHILL AT PULICAT, JANUARY 29, 1653 (*O.C.* 2310).

Has received his letter of yesterday, written aboard the *Mariner* at anchor off Ennore. Regrets that the winds and currents are delaying his voyage, but there is no help but patience. This morning came a letter from the Dutch Governor of Pulicat, announcing the arrival of two ships of theirs from Taiwan, one of which is to proceed via Masulipatam to Batavia, and offering to carry letters for Bantam. Apparently as yet there is nothing 'against us', but it would be well to be wary. It is strange that no news comes from Masulipatam. Has just had Greenhill's second letter; commends his prudence in declining the offers of the Dutch. If the *Mariner* does not sail as well as the 'tonny' [Tamil *tōni*, a small vessel], Greenhill might go ahead in the latter, leaving the pinnace to follow as she can. *P.S.*—'Just as I was takeing horse to come unto you, the Chittees

[1] His request to this effect forms *O.C.* 2307.

[2] There are two more copies among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

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[*see note on* p. 155] came and brought mee word that Sesadra had brought in 40 or 50 armed men into the towne to begin a new quarrell with them againe; and this hath caused my stay.' (*Copy.* 1 *p. Received in London, June* 30, 1656.)

PRESIDENT BAKER, WILLIAM GURNEY, EDWARD WINTER, AND JOHN LEIGH AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, FEBRUARY 5, 1653 (*O.C.* 2311).

Enclose copy of their previous letter by the *Roebuck* (December 7), a transcript of which was dispatched overland two days later. Have since received two letters from Surat, brought by the *Love* and the *Mariner* from Masulipatam, the one on January 3, the other two days later. With these came a letter from the Company dated June 18. Trust that the sugar left at Gombroon by the *Supply* has been sold; the vessel herself should be sent to Bantam to fetch a fresh lading of pepper for Persia. If the *Roebuck* returns hither from Gombroon, they will do their best to dispatch her to England with commodities ordered from Bengal. Wonder at the impudence of the Portuguese in accusing the English here of burning their pinnace at San Thomé; the authorities at the latter place have since confessed their error and now blame the Dutch, whereas in truth the negligence or wilfulness of their own people was the sole cause. Much regretted to learn from the Company's letters of the imminence of war with the Dutch, and trust that this will be averted; for, whatever the result in Europe, 'wee are like to have a very sory time of it here in India'. As yet nothing has been heard of any designs the Dutch may have on these settlements; but, for fear of the worst, they will refrain from sending any vessels to Bantam until further advice from England or Surat. Are grateful for the intended remittance of the money brought by the *Supply* from Persia, as otherwise they should not know what to do for cash; but, in the absence of any letters from Masulipatam they cannot say whether it has been received there. Regarding the *Blessing*, they have heard from Pulicat that she reached Masulipatam on January 11, but have no further particulars. Cherry's two vessels certainly belong to private traders, and they hear that the chief part of their lading was provided by Bridgman and Stephens in the Bay. 'A good part of theire monies that paid for their ladeing was borrowed by Steephens

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(who is since dead) of some of the countrey people in the Companies name, and for ought we know the Company may be forced to make satisfacion for it. You see what impudent private traders the Bay affoards.' Advise the seizure of both vessels on behalf of the Company. Will not fail to point out to the Nawāb [Mīr Jumla] how much the English share of the customs payable in Persia last year on his goods would have amounted to, had it not been remitted; but in reply he will be sure to remind them how much the English would have to pay at Masulipatam, if they were liable to customs there in the same way as the Dutch are. 'Such men as he lookes not soe much upon favours done them, for they think its our duty soe to doe; but are sorry (we beleeve) in their hearts that they know not handsomely how to lay greater burthens upon us of service.' The Nawāb already has six of their best soldiers as gunners in his army, and recently two more ran away to his camp and were engaged by him. To a remonstrance sent him he has returned no answer; and now, if any punishment be inflicted upon a member of the garrison, he is ready to abscond to the Nawāb, who will be sure to protect him. Believe that some of the merchants that come from Mokha pretending to be subjects of the King of Bantam are not really so; any that are 'right Javans' should be favoured, but Moors or Arabs should be made to pay in advance for themselves and their goods. Have written to Bantam about the missing bale of silk goods. The *Love* returned from the Bay to this place on January 3, when she took in some cinnamon and ship's stores, and sailed for England on January 9. Her cargo amounted to 36,733 new pagodas. In company with her from the Bay came the pinnace *Mariner*, built there by Bridgman and so highly commended by him. Believe that she has cost the Company more than a good vessel of 100 tons would have done in England, whereas she is only of 30 or 35 tons burthen, at least half of which must be ballast, or she cannot bear sail; while the weight of two men crossing her deck will 'carreene her two strakes'. A copy of this letter should be sent to England to show the Company how much they are indebted to Bridgman; probably it will arrive before they have cleared with him.[1] Neither vessel

[1] Bridgman was questioned about the matter on arrival, and after some dispute his liability was referred to arbitration (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54, pp. 268, 283, 291, and Jan. 31, 1655). The result is not recorded.

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brought any accounts or advices from Paul Waldegrave and the rest whom Captain Brookhaven left behind in the Bay at the departure of the *Love*; 'thus for the present have our Bay freinds beene pleased to deale with us . . . but we hope there wilbe a time for all thinges.' Understand that the *East India Merchant* reached Bantam on September 7, and that she was to go to Jambi and back before returning to England. The *Bonito*, since she could not be sent to Bantam, has been dispatched with the *Expedition* to Pegu.[1] Both vessels are expected back next April, in company with the *Ruby*; and, if news comes that all is well between England and Holland, employment will easily be found for them. In the contrary case they will be much troubled what to do, having no convenient place in which to shelter the ships from the Dutch, while to leave them in the road here under the Fort will be dangerous, especially if the weather prove foul. 'Wee know not what spirit of factious madnesse hath of late possess'd our townes people in gennerall, but the like, we assure you, in all our lives wee never knew; yet knew the countrey round about, as well as this and all other townes in this kingdome are divided into two gennerall casts, namely the Belgewarras and the Bereewars,[2] who for many hundred yeares together have ever had a quarrell one with the other who should bee the more honnorable cast and have presidency of the other; which quarrel between our townes men by the instigacion of a crew of beggerly villanes, who are indebt'd to the Company many thouzand pagodas more then ever they are able to pay, is soe aggravated, onely out of an intent (as we apprehend it) to delude the Company of what they owe them, that hardly a day passeth without a broile or other betweene the two casts. The 24th past, upon a word speaking which was not worth the takeing notice of, and that alsoe in our presence, a Belgewar[3] told a Bereewarr that he was not worth a cash; to whome the Berewar replied againe that, if himself were not worth a cash, the other was not worth two cash. Upon this the Belgewar runnes presently into the towne, raiseth the whole cast with sword and

[1] According to the *Hague Transcripts* (series i. vol. xviii. no. 550 (1)), Greenhill sailed from Masulipatam with these two vessels on February 18.

[2] The 'Belgewarras' (*Balija vāru*) were the so-called 'Right Hand Caste', while the 'Bereewars' (*Beri vāru*) were the 'Left Hand Caste', also called the Chettis, from the name of the chief section (see Love's *Vestiges*, vol. i. p. 118).

[3] From Baker's letter of March 29, 1654, it appears that this was Seshādri Nāyak.

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clubbs, who runn into the Berewar streets, plunder theire howses, and cut of two mens heare of their heads, which is a far greater disgrace to them then if they had cut of their heads and left them dead in the place; since when all the perswasions we can use betweene these people cannot reconcile them. They have called in all the countrey round about of both casts to fight one against another, and, corrupting the towne watch, have brought in four or five hundred armed men by night. Soe that tis not our feeble crew of 26 English souldiers that we have is able to deale with them; whereof the one half is not able alsoe to use theire armes, nor, if they could, have we either provisions afforehand or a defencible place (wee should say Fort) to withstand theire power, if they should altogeather come upon us. But that we most feare in this businesse is that these rogues are abetted, or at leestwise suffered, by the Nabob; for about two months since, when for a riott comitted in our towne by them, wee tooke two of the principallest ringleeders and put them in prison in the Fort, the Nabob presently, upon notice from his Braminy given him, comaunded us to release them againe, which makes us very doubtfull that he hath a hand in the bussinesse.' . . . 'Wee have yet one curtaine of our Fort to seaward the most parte whereof is laied with loose bricks which a man may push downe with his hand; which although wee are loath to expend any of the Companies money in building, yet wee must be forced to doe it, leest to save a penny wee loose a pound; for untill that bee up we cannot think ourselves safe in the place where we are, soe long as wee see such dayly broiles in our towne. Would the Company but allow us a sufficient garrizon to doe it, these people would soone bee reduced to better government; till then, it cannot bee done, nor shall wee adventure much of the Companies money in theire hands untill wee see a better conformitie amongst them.' The Masulipatam factors have been desired to advise Surat about the *Blessing*, &c. (*Copy.* 5 *pp. Received in London overland November* 21, 1653.)

MESSRS. SPILLER, YOUNG, PARK, AND JOSCELYN AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, FEBRUARY 8, 1653 (*O.C.* 2312).[1]

The *Falcon* sailed for Surat on January 6. Enclose copies of

[1] For a Dutch translation, see *Hague Transcripts* (series i. vol. xviii. no. 549).

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letters sent by her, &c. On January 21 arrived the *Roebuck* from the Coast, bringing a cargo invoiced at 12,130 new pagodas and a small quantity of freight. The task of unlading her proved a tedious one, as bags had to be made for her pepper, which was shot loose into the hold. In her came Walter Littleton and Timothy Cartwright to assist in selling her goods; but markets here are so dull that nothing has been sold save some gumlac. Will comply as far as possible with the directions given by the President and Council at Fort St. George; yet fear that they will not be able to supply the desired horses, and that the order to land and transport customs-free two bales belonging to the Nawāb may lead to difficulties with 'our very troublesome Shawbunder', if the transaction becomes known. This individual not only continues his practices of three years ago, but now troubles them in a new manner, claiming the right to open such bales as he suspects to belong to Moors. He also stopped their caravan from Ispahān, 'under a pretence of our fathering Moores goods'; but after two hot disputes he yielded. These differences have much delayed the dispatch of the present ship. The caravan left Ispahān on December 21, under the charge of Young and Joscelyn; but owing to the ordinary way being rendered impassable by snow, it did not arrive until January 31. Account of sales at Ispahān. Trade is dull throughout Persia and Turkey. Enclose a copy of a letter written to the Company from Ispahān. Approve the decision not to send any broadcloth hither for sale this year, but desire a little for presents. The lease of their house here expires about March 25; they hope that sanction will be given for buying or building a new one, and so will not agree for the present one for above a year or two. Trust that the house provisions sent this year will prove better than last year's; now forward some wine and vinegar, and request the usual supplies in return. Also need a new beam, their present one being small and defective. The quantity of China roots[1] on hand is too large for this market; recommend that part be sent to Basra. A claim for the cost of ballasting the *Roebuck* is referred to Surat. Note the caution regarding the Dutch. Joscelyn returns thanks for the favour shown to him. The two ships from Bengal are still riding here, their

[1] *Radix Chinae*, the tuber of various species of *Smilax*, once in great repute medicinally.

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sugar being yet unsold; when it is, the Company's share of the customs shall be duly collected. A slight deficiency in the pepper brought by the *Roebuck*. Error in the invoice as to the gumlac. Remit 250 tūmāns of the proceeds; the amount will be made good to the Coast account later. The Governor's expedition against 'Guardar' [*see* p. 67] has been abandoned, the King having deferred action until next year, if peace is not made in the meantime with that Governor, who is now endeavouring the same by his agents at court; the services of the English vessels will therefore not be required for the transport of ordnance or ammunition. The Governor of Gombroon lately received order to enforce payment from the Dutch of about 350 tūmāns due on last year's customs; but the latter stopped his mouth and hands with a present to the value of 100 tūmāns, desiring forbearance until they had once more petitioned the King to remit the claim.[1] A careful account is, however, being kept by the Shāhbandar of all their transactions; and, when anything is paid, a demand will be made for the Company's share. The Dutch *Concordia* arrived on January 24, but has not yet sold any of her goods. She is to remain until another ship of theirs arrives; 'and soe they are resolved to keepe one ship constantly in this roade.' A flute of theirs[2] sailed for Surat on January 22, but returned on February 4 to hand over to the Dutch 'Comandore' a Portuguese prize she had captured.[3] She sailed again two days later, after landing the prisoners. Have cautioned Hargrave, the commander of the *Roebuck*, to keep his ship clear and not trust the Dutch. Send a list of the 'lascars' on board of her, and will advise later the conditions on which they were entertained. Enclose two bills of exchange for money advanced to 'fraughters'. Free passages granted to two men and abatements to some others. Have now reladen the *Roebuck*. Account of her cargo and freight. Spiller and Daniel arrived yesterday in the *Lanneret*. The former now confirms what Young has already written, and finds little to add thereto. Customers are still being sought for the sugar brought by the *Supply*. No letter having arrived from England, it is not known 'how the difference stands betwixt us and the Hollan-

[1] See *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 538.
[2] Called the *Hearne* in the text. The Dutch version has *Rijger*, i. e. *Reiger* (*Heron*).
[3] See *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 550 (2).

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ders'.[1] Hear that the overland advices lost between Basra and Aleppo [*see* p. 139] have been recovered 'from the wild Arabs' and sent to England. Forward a letter to the President from the Basra broker. Are in great want of 'semeanoes' [*shamiyāna*, an awning] and would be glad to receive two this monsoon. Account of the *Lanneret's* voyage, during which much trouble was occasioned by a leak. The Governor has demanded a pass to Dābhol for a junk of that place now riding here. They replied that they had no power to grant his request; but he will probably trouble them again about it. Wish that the Deccan business were ended, for otherwise it is likely to cause a breach here. (*Copy.* 5¾ *pp.*)

THE COMPANY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE, FEBRUARY 10, 1653 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 197).[2]

Complain of two bills of exchange drawn on them from Bantam in favour of the late Thomas Peniston and a Dutch merchant. As such transactions are contrary to order, payment has been refused. The bills will doubtless be returned protested and the factors must make arrangements to discharge the liability. (3 *pp.*)

MESSRS. SPILLER, YOUNG, PARK AND JOSCELYN AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, FEBRUARY 12, 1653 (*O.C.* 2312).

Have changed their plans and detained the *Roebuck* until the *Lanneret* could accompany her. From the Company's letter to Surat they infer that war was on the point of breaking out; and probably it has now been declared, for the Dutch Chief here has forbidden his people to have anything to do with the English. At the *Lanneret's* coming in, she met a Dutch flute. The latter commanded her master to come aboard, but he refused to do so; and he was then asked whether he had any Portuguese passengers or goods. On the 8th the Dutch sent a letter to be conveyed to Surat by the *Roebuck*; notwithstanding which, the same night the *Concordia* sailed suddenly for the same place, as was reported.

[1] The Dutch at Gombroon were aware that war had been declared (p. 139), but concealed the intelligence in order not to deter the English vessels from sailing: see *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 550 (2).

[2] This is merely a copy of one clause of the letter. The rest is not extant.

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This gave rise to fears that some mischief was intended against the *Roebuck*, and so it was decided to detain her. The markets continue very dull. The broker disclaims responsibility for the amount demanded of him, alleging that it is due from his brother-in-law at Ispahān. Whatever the customs amount to this monsoon, the English will not get any more than last year, 'nor never will untill some other course bee taken'. Will do their best, however; and will also apply at court for a *farmān* testifying that the King remitted to the Dutch only his own share of the customs, not the Company's moiety. The horse used by Lewis has been put aboard the *Lanneret*, as ordered, and a man has been given free passage to look after him. At present horses are very scarce. No letters have been received from the brokers at Ispahān. Young and Joscelyn express their gratitude for the increases in their salaries. Amount received for freight in the *Roebuck*. Goods damaged by the *Lanneret's* leak, which has now been stopped. Will do what they can to procure spices. A small vessel just arrived from Surat brings news that the *Concordia* is cruising about 'Mobarrack[1] and the Quoynes'; so evidently she intends to come in again, especially as she is said to have on board one of the factors belonging to this place. The Dutch, however, aver that she has departed for Ceylon and Batavia. Have been obliged to grant a pass to the Dābhol junk, owing to the Governor's importunity. *P.S.*—Money advanced to the purser of the *Lanneret*. (*Copy*. 2¼ *pp*.)

AGENT SKINNER AND COUNCIL AT BANTAM TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE, FEBRUARY 15, 1653 (*O.C.* 2283).[2]

Wrote on September 25, hoping to get the letter conveyed by the Dutch, but it was returned from Batavia. Now forward a packet, committed to the charge of Samuel Peniston, if he can obtain a passage in the Dutch ships. Answer the letter from the Fort of September 22, announcing the arrival of the *Roebuck* and *Bonito* on the first of that month, and mentioning also that the *Love* had reached that place from England and had been sent on to Bengal.

[1] Rās-al-Kuh (see note on p. 49 of the 1624–29 volume). The Quoins are a group of three islets on the other side of the Straits, near Rās Musāndam.

[2] For another copy see *O.C.* 2284.

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. . . Were glad to learn from a Surat letter that the *Supply* was safe at Basra. Are now replying to that letter by a Dutch fleet which is to sail next week to lie before Goa and cruise upon the Portuguese along the coast of India. Regret the delay in providing goods for Camboja. . . . Will endeavour to supply the Fort, as desired, with brimstone and coarse China dishes. . . . (*Extracts only.* 1¼ *pp. The rest of the letter relates to affairs at Bantam, &c.*)

JOHN SPILLER AND OTHER FACTORS AT GOMBROON TO THE COMMANDERS OF ALL ENGLISH SHIPS, FEBRUARY 18, 1653 (*O.C.* 2313).

'The 16th [*sic*] present, upon report of many peeces [of] ordinance, it was heere generally beleived that our shipps *Robuck* and *Lennarett*, whoe sett sayle the 14th (a little before day) for Surratt, were in fight with the Dutch ship *Concordia*, that went fourth of this roade about six days before; upon which some of the marchants that had good estates upon our vessells hired boates and sent them out to bee assertayned heereof; by one of which (that was bound to Jasques) wee sent a letter to be delivered (as this now is) to the commaunders and masters of any of our shipps to acquaint them heerewith; which said boate or tranka haveing not gon farr, but returned againe, when alsoe came in a small boate of the Dutches (now our profest open enemies) with this sad newes that our premencioned shipps incountred with three Dutch shipps,[1] whoe in a short time, by the *Robuckes* looseing her foremast and forecastles takeing fire, gott the uper hand of us and tooke our two shipps, which last night came into this roade, wheare they now ride.' To prevent further losses, it has been decided to send to Jask and employ boats to give notice to any ships they may meet. Request any master receiving this letter to put into Jask, unlade his cargo, and send word to this factory. As the *Endeavour* and *Blessing* are daily expected, they are dispatching a boat to meet and warn them to go either to Jask or to Muskat. The Dutch here will probably proceed shortly in search of them; so the commanders must act as they think best. The Portuguese are at war with the Dutch, but not with the English. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

[1] The *Concordia*, the *Reiger*, and the *Robijn*, which had joined them from Surat: see *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 550 (2).

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PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND MESSRS. PEARCE AND GARY AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS IN PERSIA, FEBRUARY 19, 1653 (*O.C.* 2314).[1]

Answer their letter of January 6, received by the *Falcon* on February 11. The strange silence of the Coast factors keeps them in ignorance of what has occurred in those parts. The money received from Cherry was long since sent in a present to Goa, with a large addition on the Company's account: so it is useless for Bridgman to expect its return. Regret to learn the damage to the broadcloth and the deficiency in the pepper. Have sent the largest beam they can spare. Approve of the dispatch of *rūnās* to Sind. Fear that the disputes with the Dutch will by this time have resulted in open war; enjoin vigilance accordingly. Should the Company order offensive action against the Dutch, instructions may be given accordingly, provided that the English ships and men are in a capacity to carry them out; otherwise the orders should be concealed and the officers should be merely told to look to the preservation of their vessels. Trust that the *Lanneret* is on her way hither with any money that is available. If the Company's letters overland should order an investment for Europe this year, Persia will be looked to for the necessary funds, 'for as (blessed be God) we are now out of debt at present, soe we desire to keep our selves in the future'. Should it be found impossible to send the *Blessing* and *Roebuck* hither in good time, or to dispatch them to the Coast for fear of the Dutch, they had better proceed to St. Augustine's Bay in Madagascar, to await the arrival of ships from England. In that case the *Roebuck* may take with her 50 tons of pepper and the same quantity of sugar; the rest of her lading will be sent to her at that place and she may then sail direct for England. If the news brought by the outcoming ships is good, the *Blessing* should return to Gombroon and thence proceed to Bengal. Note the demand for an English ship to assist the Persians against Gwādar; unless the *Supply* proceeds to the Bay, this would be a fitting employment for her, provided the Persians will undertake to indemnify the English against an attack upon her by the Dutch. If this project falls through, she must be given similar orders to those given to the

[1] For another copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

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Blessing. The *Seahorse* captured two junks belonging to Chaul, one of which was released, while the other was brought to Swally, where she still remains. The Governor of Chaul promises to obtain satisfaction for English losses in the Deccan and, if he will guarantee this, the junk will be restored. The *Supply* is now dispatched to Gombroon; particulars of her lading. Hammersly has left this place without satisfying his creditors, and is said to have gone from Chaul to Gombroon; seizure should be made of his person and estate until he has taken steps to pay his debts. Orders regarding certain private-trade goods detected aboard the *Supply*. Should the *Blessing* proceed to Madagascar, Christopher Oxenden is to remain at Gombroon. (*Copy*. 2¾ *pp*.)

JOHN SPILLER AND OTHER FACTORS AT GOMBROON TO THE COMMANDERS OF ALL ENGLISH SHIPS, FEBRUARY 21, 1653 (*O.C.* 2313).

Since their previous letter, the Shāhbandar has urged that vessels bringing goods belonging to native traders should be instructed to land them at Jask or Muskat; and they have agreed to this, provided the Dutch are not lying before either port. The same course should be taken with the Company's goods; after which the ships must shift for themselves. It may be best to return to Surat and shelter in the river there; but in that case Diu Head should be avoided, as it is reported that four Dutch ships are waiting there to seize English vessels. (*Copy*. ¾ *p*.)

THE SAME TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, FEBRUARY 24, 1653 (*O.C.* 2315).

Wrote on the 19th by way of Kung, sending transcripts of the papers lost in the captured ships; now forward fresh copies by way of Sind. Have little to add regarding the proceedings of the Dutch, save that they have sent the passengers on land but are detaining their belongings, pretending that the English must make good the value of these. Yesterday the 'Comandore' returned on shore, after completing an account of what has been taken and examining the merchants as to their losses; there appears to be a great discrepancy between the two accounts and he is somewhat troubled thereat. The action of the Dutch 'is very ill taken by this country

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people',[1] but the former have justified it to the Governor by alleging that the English have captured many of their ships, including the one in which their Commissary [i.e. Cunaeus] was, which went away last August.[2] The Dutch hope to take others, including the *Blessing* and *Supply*, and it is averred that they have ships lying off Diu for this purpose. Would have sent off a flag of truce to inquire as to the English prisoners, but were assured by the Dutch on shore that no one would be allowed on board. A letter from some of the *Roebuck's* men alleges that they 'have none of the best usage'. By report of the merchants, that vessel 'soe well defended herselfe that, had shee not lost her foremast and by that takeing fire, shee would have gott cleare away. However, they had bin little the better for her, if the merchants had not intreated Mr. Hargrave to take pitty of them in not bloweing up the ship, which hee was ready to doe, powder and every thing elce being laid ready.' Are negotiating for the sale of some of their goods, but the prices offered are low. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

EDWARD ALSOPP[3] TO THE FACTORS AT GOMBROON, FEBRUARY 26, 1653 (*O.C.* 2316).

Trusts they will continue their efforts to secure the release of the prisoners. Their previous letters were not received. 'And to certifie you of our fight which we made: the 15th of this present moneth, being Tuesday, in the morning betimes we saw two of them close aboard the Persian shoare and the Ambrall [i.e. admiral] close aboard the Arrab shoare, Cape Mossendowne [Musāndam] beareing then W. b. N. distance of some six or seaven leagues. The Ambrall, comeing to us within muskett shott, boare up and fired his broadside upon us, without speakeing with us; which broadeside shott our small mast and foremast by the boarde. Likewise wee, being very well fitted, fired againe and (by report of their owne men) kiled them one man and hurt another; which fireing out of the forecastle, our

[1] This is borne out by the Dutch account, which says that great resentment was shown and attacks were made on the Dutch, for which the Governor apologized (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 550 (2)). The reason was, of course, not love of the English, but anger at the capture of the freight goods and passengers on board the ships.

[2] The report of the capture of the *Sperwer* was incorrect.

[3] Master's mate of the *Roebuck*. He writes from on board a Portuguese vessel taken by the Dutch.

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foremast falling by the board at the very instant, fired our own sayle and fired our forecastle; at which sight most of our men runn into the long boate, our skiff being shott in two places, that she sunke; theare remayning in the ship the master and myselfe and some four or five more English, with some passengers, more frighted at the sight of the fire then there was any signe that they should be hurt by it. Wee lookeing what might be done, for feare of our afterjeare takeing fire, with the masters consent I cutt the maine mast by the board, the maine stay being then burnt; and through the help of the Persians that were aboard we put the fire out. The *Lennaretts* tiller being shott, that she runn aboard of the Ambrall and they tooke her presently.[1] They seeing that our fire being put out, came aboard in their boates. Our men, seeing them comeing aboard, came aboard in the long boate, our ship then being without goverment of her rudder, that we were forst to yeald.' Describes how the prisoners are distributed in the various ships. Five or six men have entered the service of the Dutch. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

MESSRS. SPILLER, YOUNG, PARK, AND JOSCELYN AT GOMBROON TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 28, 1653 (*O.C.* 2317).

Wrote last on December 10. For subsequent events, including the capture of their two ships, they refer to the enclosed correspondence. They had sent three times to the Dutch Chief here, Signor Sarcerius, to know whether war had been proclaimed, but could get no answer until the third occasion, when they were told that the action of the Dutch was a sufficient proof of a rupture. Fear now that most of the Company's small shipping will be taken. Sarcerius refuses to release his prisoners, most of whom (44 in number) are on board the Portuguese prize. Unfortunately the packet for Surat was not destroyed, and now the Dutch are using the letters to make mischief against the English. By means of large bribes they have won over the chief officials here, and now 'doe what they lust'. Account of piece-goods sold, with prices; also of the prospects of selling their China roots and indigo. The Bantam sugar has at last found a customer. Disposal of other remains. Trust that the *Smyrna*

[1] The Company afterwards refused to pay the wages of her commander, Robert Bailey, on the ground that he surrendered his ship treacherously and received a gratuity from the Dutch for so doing (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 363).

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Merchant will reach England safely. The *Lanneret* was nearly captured by a Dutch ship on her first arrival. A Surat ship came in on February 20; 'which when the Dutch first saw, they tooke in our collours, which hung draging at their admiralls stearne,[1] but soe soone as they made her to be a jounck, put them out againe.' From her crew it was learnt that the *Endeavour* and *Supply* had probably left Surat for this place; and, as nothing has been heard of either, it is feared that they too have been taken. The *Blessing* also is overdue from Masulipatam and may have met with a similar fate. The Dutch successes entail not only a great loss upon the Company but a dishonour to the English nation, 'being much admired by these country people that a Dutch man should make prize of an English man.' The Dutch themselves are much elated, and their imperiousness is 'almost past beliefe. This we patiently indure, not doubting but you will right yourselves, or procure the States to doe it. If not, you must bid adue to your East India trade; but yett thus to be beaten out of it we should be very loath to see, beeing it wilbe soe great a disparagment to all English men, especially in this place, wheare they have gained so much honor, and therby so many immunitis.' These privileges are now endangered, and probably, unless news arrives of English successes in Europe, the factors will have difficulty this year in procuring even the small sum now allowed to the Company out of the customs here. The Dutch are supposed to have acted under instructions from Batavia, from which place ships were dispeeded to Surat and Gombroon; 'so it should appeare that the Dutch in India had order out of Holland to beginn and comence a warr heere before any was proclamed at home.' A packet of letters for the Company, brought from Surat by the *Falcon*, was forwarded to Basra on December 29, and they have since heard that it was at once dispatched to Aleppo; 'but of any Europe newes not a word'. The boats sent out to warn incoming vessels have not yet returned; so it is feared that they have not succeeded in meeting any. The *Falcon* was to have called at 'Scynd' on her way here, but found the winds so adverse that she could not effect this. She arrived at Gombroon December 27, and sailed again January 6, intending to

[1] To hang a captured flag under the stern of the victorious vessel was a common form of exulting over the vanquished.

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call at 'Scynd', land Reynardson, and bring away Gary with such goods as were ready. It is reported that the Portuguese have near Muskat a fleet of 40 or 50 vessels, and that 'the Emaame [Imām] or King that raynes about Muskatt is willing to deliver up the aforesaid place unto the Portugals againe', owing to the fact that the cessation of the date trade has made the people there so poor that they are unable to pay 'theire annuall duties'. This intelligence is not likely to be pleasing to the Dutch. Their ships are still here, and they have rebuilt the *Roebuck's* forecastle and fitted her with new masts.[1] They are putting on shore the merchants who took passage in their vessels, together with their goods; and they have also released the passengers found aboard the English ships, though they deny them their property, 'saying all fraughted goods that was aboard of them was theirs and wee ought to make it good'. Intend to withstand to the utmost any demand on this account. *P.S.* (*March* 7)—After writing the above, they heard that some English ships had put into ports down the Gulf; so they thought it best to detain the letter for a few days. On March 2 an express from Basra brought a packet from the Company, including a letter of August 5, from which they were glad to learn the arrival of the *Eagle*. Will forward copies to Surat by various conveyances, but fear they will be delayed, as the Dutch threaten to punish any masters of country craft found carrying letters for the English. Cannot get confirmation of the report mentioned above; but on the 2nd the *Endeavour* arrived under William Newland, and, warned by the boats sent out, took shelter under Ormus Castle. Had she not received the warning, she would have anchored in the midst of the Dutch, who are very angry at her escape and have complained to the Shāhbandar of his assisting the English by allowing the boats to lie out. Two days ago a couple of the Dutch ships departed to look for the *Blessing* and other vessels expected; they carried away twenty of the prisoners, leaving the rest aboard. Yesterday the *Roebuck's* ten lascars, recruited at Masulipatam, were released. A junk from Chaul arrived yesterday. She had been stopped by the

[1] The *Roebuck* was renamed the *Utrecht*, and the *Lanneret* the *Zijdeworm*; their cargoes were sold for 50,469 gulden (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 550 (2)). The latter vessel was, in the following year, used as a fireship in an attack on some Portuguese ships (*Ibid.*, vol. xix. no. 561).

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Seahorse, but allowed to proceed. Another Chaul vessel was made prize of at the same time and was to be carried to Surat. Hope that the *Seahorse* reached that place safely with her, and that the Deccan business will soon be settled, as the officials here much resent such interference with the trade between the two places. Wish the *Endeavour* were back at Surat, for Ormus is a bad place 'in the heates'; but they dare not venture to dispatch her thither. Hear that eleven Portuguese frigates came recently to Kung, but, being warned of the proceedings of the Dutch, sailed for Diu or Goa; trust that by their means the President at Surat will learn of the actions of the Dutch. (6½ *pp. Received overland September* 21.)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND EDWARD PEARCE AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 23, 1653 (*O.C.* 2318).

Wrote last on January 17. Had then intended to lay up the *Seahorse*; but finding that the *Lanneret*, on arrival, was in still worse condition, it was resolved to lay her up instead, after sending her once more to Gombroon with some goods that were awaiting transport thither. She accordingly sailed, under the protection of the *Smyrna Merchant* and *Seahorse*. A few days later they began to freight the *Endeavour* for Persia, intending on her return to send her to Bantam, should news arrive that the differences with the Dutch have been settled. The Dutch *Robijn*, of about 18 guns, sailed for Gombroon on January 28; and on the 30th the *Endeavour* followed, her guns having been made up to the like number. The *Seahorse*, having accompanied the *Smyrna Merchant* for about fifty leagues, returned on February 5 with a Deccan junk she had taken. On the 11th the *Falcon* came in from Gombroon, bringing a private letter from Consul Riley at Aleppo announcing that war had broken out; whereupon it was decided to send the *Supply* to Persia in the hope that she would arrive before any action was taken here by the Dutch. She sailed accordingly on February 24. It was known that three Dutch ships, of 20, 18, and 16 guns respectively, were in Persian waters; but the English vessels dispatched thither (including the *Roebuck*, which left Madraspatam on December 8) were reckoned to be little inferior in force. The disposal of these ships was left to the decision of the Gombroon factors, who were to be guided by circumstances and the news from Europe. About this

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time came the intelligence that the Portuguese had given the Dutch a great overthrow in Ceylon;[1] and as the ships expected by the latter from Taiwan and Batavia were overdue, it seemed probable that they had been detained to reinforce their fleet engaged in the operations in that island. It was thought, therefore, that the Dutch would be too much occupied to molest the English in these parts; and so on March 14 the *Seahorse* was dispatched to Mokha with instructions to lade coffee there and carry it to Basra for sale. A large amount of freight being here offered for the latter port, it was decided to send the *Falcon* thither; but when she was half laden, the Dutch factors 'denonced a warr against us and forbaed all merchants to lade any goods aboard us, for they would take, burne, or destroy our shipps wheresoever they could meete with them'. This has deterred the merchants from risking their goods in her; and they have not been pressed to do so, because the vessel is but weakly manned, owing to many of her sailors having been transferred to the other ships to supply their deficiencies. It was intended to fill the gaps from the crew of the *Lanneret*, when she should be laid up, but she has not yet appeared, and so it is concluded that the Persian factors have kept her back until the other ships can accompany her. Trust that the Dutch will not be able to do them much harm; but desire the Company to take steps to vindicate the honour of the nation in these parts. The bulk of the Company's estate is in Persia, 'where wee hope it wilbe as safe as if with us; for as yet wee cannot gett this Governer to declare how farr hee will secure us, for hee is of soe small courage that the Dutch with there greate words doe overawe him, that hee dares doe nothing till hee heare from the King, whome hee hath advised of what hath passed betweene the Dutch and us and how prejudiciall this wilbe unto his port and country, wherein hee seemeth much to take our parts. And wee have alsoe largely advised Mr. Jesson at Agra with all passages, and given order that hee repaire to the King and not onely accquaint him with our condition but alsoe to procure the most safety hee can for us; uppon whose answer wee shall resolve what to doe, either in resideing here or retyreing to some other place. Wee were never soe sencible of the want of

[1] By the capture of a fort on the Kalutturai River (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 550).

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a port in these parts (as that wee might call our owne) as wee are at present, and are like to bee if these warrs continue. Doubtless a faire oppertunity may now present by a treaty with the Portugall, who hath enow to spare, and wee beleive willing to spare on easy tearmes. Bombay and Bassine, which is se[cure?], would bee very convenient for you. What the Dutch hold in Zelon we beleive the Portugalls would bee willingwee should enjoy, if by our assistance they could bee driven out; which were noe hard matter to doe, if the Parliament would please to engage therein. Seven or eight frigatts [with ?] four or five good ships would soone give them a law in India; for though they are to hard for us at present, yet there strength is not soe greate as is imagined by us in England. They have many places to secure, which require great supplies; and if they bee cutt short in the springe (as wee trust they wilbe), the streames will soone bee dryed. And if this could bee effected, the honour of our nation in these parts would much bee advanced, our privilidges in all places increased (which now are much impared), your customes of Gombroone not onely established but much augmented, and you enjoy as great a royalty of the seas in these parts as formerly the Portugalls did, and the Dutch, wee beleive, will doe if not prevented.' The investment for England is well advanced, in the hope of the arrival of at least two ships. Only one letter has been received from the Coast since President Baker's coming thither. The Company's letter of June 18 was at once dispatched to Masulipatam, but the messenger brought back merely a note from the factors there, promising to write after they had dispeeded the *Love*. The *Blessing* left Masulipatam on January 20, and is now, they hope, near her port. The *Bonito* and *Expedition* are gone for Pegu. Are now sending to Masulipatam to warn the factors there of the outbreak of hostilities, in order that they may take steps to preserve the Company's estate in those parts. Would have forwarded dead men's accounts and other papers, but fear to enlarge this packet, lest it should be intercepted by the Dutch; however, George Oxenden has taken copies of his books home and will be able from them to satisfy the Company. Burnell and the other factors from Lucknow have not yet arrived. If the war continues, the factory at Ahmadābād will likewise be dissolved to lessen expense. The merchants in the Deccan prize had agreed to

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pay 4,000 rupees in six months for her release, unless in the interim they could procure an order from the King to 'Catchperbee' [*see the previous volume*, p. 252] to make satisfaction for what is due; but before the matter could be settled, the Dutch declared war, and now the vessel is likely to get away without anything being secured. They are unwilling to use force, as they may have occasion to use Chaul as a place of refuge for their ships. A packet has just arrived from President Baker for the Company, and is sent herewith. Enclose an abstract showing what goods have been sent to Gombroon and other ports, and what has been received for freight since September. Had not their traffic been interrupted, they would have been able to add half as much again before the end of the monsoon. (3½ *pp. Received overland October* 10.)

THE COMPANY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, APRIL 1, 1653 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 201).

Enclose copies of letters of February 10 and 24,[1] sent by the *Dove* and *Welcome*, which sailed from the Downs in company on March 14. Have now fitted out the *Eagle*, under the command of Thomas Proud, to proceed to Goa and there receive her return lading from Surat and the Coast. Have already advised that the *Dove* and her goods were taken over in order to prevent 'an interlooping voyage'. The owners dishonestly stowed aboard the ship a great quantity of quicksilver and vermilion bought in Holland, but this was seized by the Customhouse officers and they have had to compound for it at a cost of 600*l.* or 700*l.* On being remonstrated with for this intended breach of charterparty, the owners (Nathaniel Tems and William Noke[2]) offered to deposit the quicksilver, &c., in the hands of the Company to allay suspicion, and were thereupon allotted a room at the East India House. The cases were duly brought in; but it was discovered that about forty of them had been filled with gravel and stones, the quicksilver having been taken out with the intention of sending it to India in the ship.[3] Having been thus abused, and learning that Noke himself intended

[1] Missing. For an abstract see p. 178.

[2] Both of these men had been previously employed at Surat, the latter as 'servant' to President Breton (see p. 294 of the last volume).

[3] See *Court Minutes*, 1650–54, pp. 222–225.

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to proceed in the *Dove* to drive a private trade, they absolutely forbade him to embark, and ordered the master not to receive him on board. Though the latter promised compliance, he waited in the Downs until Noke arrived. The factors are now charged not to assist the latter in any way; and should the goods provided prove insufficient to lade all three ships, the other two should be given preference over the *Dove*. Now answer the letters received from Surat. Will comply as far as possible with the request for earlier advice overland of goods desired. They always order the airing of the broadcloth on the way out. As this commodity is so little in demand, they had intended to send none this year; but the goods taken over with the *Dove* included a small quantity, which is therefore sent in the *Eagle*. Sanction the gratuity to William Isaacson, who, however, is likely to be disappointed of the post of chaplain at the Coast, as Baker will probably take Joseph Thomson with him from Bantam. Approve the course suggested for bringing pepper from the latter place to Surat; but, until peace is concluded, they dare not send any vessel to those parts. In the present condition of the Company, they cannot increase the wages of any of their servants; but they note the recommendations made and, should a new Stock be underwritten (this being the last year of sending out upon the present subscription), will then consider the matter. Are not surprised that Pearce desires to return home, but beg him to remain, promising that he shall succeed Blackman as President. In view of the commendations bestowed upon Anthony Clitherow, they recently promised his brothers that he should succeed Pearce as Accountant; as, however, the latter will, they hope, now consent to remain, Clitherow must be content with a promise of future consideration. Note the proposal that mariners should be allowed to receive their thirds of their wages at 5*s*. 6*d*. the rial instead of 7*s*.; but, as they have formerly ordered the sale of their small shipping, they conceive they will have no further use for such mariners, and it is therefore not worth while to alter the custom for a short time. Have examined Davidge about his abuses in Agra, but cannot determine the matter until the arrival of the next shipping from Surat, which may bring further proofs. Trust that steps have been taken to prevent a repetition of such practices. Approve the reasons given for allowing Hammersly to remain, but hope that he is now on his

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way to England; some money they have in hand of his will be retained until it is known that he has cleared his debts in India. Will in future take care that freighted ships carry out their full number of men. Have desired the owners of the *Eagle* to appoint who is to succeed the master in the event of the latter's death. The money paid in at Surat by Blackman has been handed over to William Ryder, as desired. Paper and quills forwarded; some should be passed on to the Coast factors. Velvets, &c., sent out for presents or for sale. Wine and beer sent. Trust that Vīrjī Vōra has now cleared his account. The proceeds of the two sapphires from Masulipatam, when sold, will be credited to the Fourth Joint Stock. Cannot agree to the entertainment of Edward Lloyd, as no new servants are desired; on the contrary, they expect that some of the regular staff will be sent home to lessen charges. Approve the reprisals ordered upon Bījāpur shipping. The adventurers in the Fourth Joint Stock will not consent to clear any of their servants until they return. Are confident that no borrowing will be necessary at Surat; but note the offer of Benī Dās to lend 200,000 rupees at an easy rate of interest, if required. Will write to thank him, and will send some scarlet cloth 'to make him a vest'. In the *Eagle* they are sending one [*blank*] as surgeon for Surat, with a surgeon's chest. The other surgeon asked for will not now be needed, in view of the abolition of their local shipping. Approve the orders for the purchase of silk in Persia, 'for the preserving of our priviledges and reputation' against the machinations of the Dutch. Rely upon every exertion being made to lessen private trade. Justify the strictures passed on the omissions in the invoice of the *Love*. With regard to the translation sent of the letter from Imām Qulī Khān, desiring the Company to forgo their share of the customs on Dutch goods at Gombroon, 'it is a thing that wee never gave nor shall give our consent unto'. The war with the Dutch 'is prosecuted with very much vyolence', and, so far from giving any compensation for former injuries, they fear that the Dutch will add to the number. Send by the *Eagle* two pairs of neat pistols, each having two barrels in one stock, for the Shāhbandar of Gombroon; also six sword-blades desired by Khalīlullah Khān. The same ship carries some steel bows, arquebusses, and glass buttons for the kings of Jambi and Bantam. Copy of the *Eagle's* charterparty is enclosed. (*Copy.* 5 *pp.*)

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THE COMPANY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE, APRIL 1, 1653 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 206).

Dispatch of the *Dove* and *Welcome*, and now of the *Eagle*. Regret to be unable, owing to the war, to send any vessel to 'your partes'. Proceed to answer the letters received from Bantam and the Coast. Approve the suggestion that, in order to lessen private trade, as little tonnage as possible should be allowed to the owners of freighted ships, and that those owners should be required to notify to the factors what goods they have laded, on pain of forfeiture. At the first opportunity some satin shall be sent for the King of Macassar, to whom they have already dispatched a telescope. Cannot tell what to resolve concerning the solicitations received from the Mataran[1] to leave Bantam and settle in one of his ports. Trust that Baker has observed their order to remove himself and as much as possible of the Company's estate to the Coast, which will lessen the dangers to be feared from the Dutch; also that the factors left at Bantam have been instructed to withdraw from that place and proceed to the island 'Billeton',[2] offered by the Mataran. If the Company's orders are being awaited, they can but leave the decision to the President and Council, whose long experience will direct them herein. Presents sent for the kings of Jambi and Bantam. Wine, beer, and 'chirurgery' will be supplied from Surat out of the stores sent thither. A surgeon can doubtless be provided out of the discarded trading ships. Payment made of certain bills of exchange. A trunk delivered to Jeremy Sambrook, at Baker's request. Note what money and goods have been turned over from the Fourth Joint Stock to the United at Bantam and its subordinates, and trust that efforts are being made to recover the outstanding debts. Confirm the increase of salary to John Boyer, master of the *Expedition*. The Portuguese letters have been sent, as desired, to Holland. Wrote, on June 18 last, ordering the repair of Fort St. George, limiting the expense to 200*l*. Now learn that the work has been begun and that the cost will largely be defrayed by monies raised 'from the delinquencies of the towne people; but in such things as these be, wee desire you not to be to rigorous and vyolent, and, being you have

[1] The principal native ruler in Java.

[2] Billiton: between Sumatra and Borneo.

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such a power over them, let it be used with moderation. As our condicions are at present, both in respect of the troubles with you in your devided kingdome, seconded by the difference which is happened betweene us and the Hollanders, wee are not displeased that you have finished the Fort; and wee hope you have made it soe defencible that our estate and your persons may be therein secured. Wee question not but you have sufficiently furnished yourselves with men and ammunition out of our trading vessells and of such as were here provided for the Assada Plantation.' Approve their action in charging to Netlam's account the calicoes short packed by him in the *Love*; the same course should be taken in regard to other deficiences due to his carelessness. Have bestowed 100*l.* on Robert Winchester for his services. Note the various goods desired, but cannot send them at present. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

MESSRS. SPILLER, YOUNG, PARK, AND JOSCELYN AT GOMBROON TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 4, 1653 (*O.C.* 2323).

For what has happened since their last, they refer to the enclosed copy of a letter to Surat of March 25 [*missing*]. Under pressure from the local officials they have agreed to allow out of their share of the customs the freight paid here for goods embarked in the captured ships. The attempts made to warn other incoming vessels proved unsuccessful. One boat sighted the *Blessing* and *Supply*, but could not overtake them; and on March 25 those ships were attacked by three of the Dutch. The *Blessing* was soon taken; the *Supply*, failing in an attempt to escape, was run ashore, where the master yielded to the Dutch boats.[1] Only three Hollanders being left in charge of her, some of the men endeavoured to make a raft and get on shore; and seven Englishmen, two lascars, and two passengers succeeded in doing so. They are now here, and it is from their narration that the above particulars are derived, as the Dutch will not permit any communication with the prisoners. On April 1 the two captured vessels were brought into this road, to their great grief and the astonishment of the Persians, who wonder 'what is become of the English vallour'. To this the only reply possible is that the ships were taken unawares and were so pestered

[1] For a narrative of the fight, see *infra*, p. 191. A brief account will also be found in *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 550 (2).

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with merchants and their goods that they were not able to make a stout resistance. This is true enough, for the ships were not well manned or suitably provided; otherwise the result might have been different. Similarly, it was the knowledge of the weak state of the *Roebuck* and the *Lanneret* that made the Dutch so resolute in attacking them. There are now left only the *Falcon*, *Seahorse*, and *Assada Merchant*, and these also they give up for lost, as the Dutch have so terrified the mariners here that no boat will venture to warn the English. Cannot yet advise what has been lost in the two vessels. The Dutch have landed the passengers, but declare that their goods will be confiscated, saying that those taken in the *Roebuck* were only surrendered in deference to the wishes of their friend, the late Governor,[1] who died March 25. It is believed, however, that they will give up the goods in the end. A request for clothes has been received from Grimes, Tyndall, Christopher Oxenden, and others, who are detained in one of the Dutch ships and have been deprived of all but what they have on their backs; this they will endeavour to perform. The disgrace of seeing their vessels thus taken by two or three rotten Dutch ships 'is so much that we are ashamed to shew ourselves, people so gazeing and wondering at us; nay, our domesticke servants beginn to slight us'. Still, they trust that the Company will take steps to vindicate their reputation and make good all losses. Will write again shortly. (*Copy.* 2¼ *pp.*)

JOHN SPILLER AND OTHER FACTORS AT GOMBROON TO [THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT], APRIL 20, 1653 (*O.C.* 2324).

Enclose copy of a letter to the Company, narrating the capture of the *Blessing* and the *Supply*. As it is impossible to send their money to Surat, they are storing it at Lar. Young and Joscelyn are about to start for Ispahān, to look after sales there and inform the King about the differences with the Dutch. The *Blessing*, after watering at Cochin, met eight Dutch ships bound for the coast of India and sailed with them for three days. This fleet is expected here daily; 'when they come tis supposed that the Dutch and

[1] His name was Thamāsp Qulī Beg (see p. 263 of the last volume). He was provisionally succeeded by Gauhar Āghā, a favourite of Ivaz Beg, the Governor of Lar. A permanent governor arrived later from court, who is described as having been twice to Russia as ambassador (*Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. xviii. no. 550 (2)).

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Persia will also fall out, for the Comissaries entertaynement at Spahaune last yeare is not well taken.' The goods captured in the *Supply* and *Blessing* have been put ashore under a guard procured from the Governor, for fear the English should attempt to recover them. About sixty of the English imprisoned aboard a Portuguese prize have made their escape to shore. The Dutch had taken away the sails and rudder, but in a dark and stormy night the prisoners cut her cable and ran her ashore. Most of them are officers, 'for all the youthes and young seamen the Dutch doe force to serve them'. About half these men have been sent over to Ormus to strengthen the crew of the *Endeavour*, and the rest will follow at the first opportunity. That vessel will therefore be well manned, but she is deficient in almost every other respect, though they will supply her as far as possible. Fearing that the Carmelite padre at Basra may prove more friendly to the Dutch than to them, they are endeavouring to get an Englishman to go thither to look after the dispatch of letters. The Dutch have two ships waiting to intercept the *Falcon*, but it is hoped that she has been laid up at Surat. Are encouraged in this belief by intelligence from that place that the Dutch had unladen a merchantman and sent her out to ride about Damān as a man-of-war; and that the *Concordia* was so long on her voyage that 'there was ten per cent. insureance given, and six on our shipps'. Besides, they were long since told that the Dutch chief at Surat had bought 1,000 maunds of gunpowder. All this will probably have led the President and Council to detain both the *Falcon* and the *Seahorse*. Have been troubled by some Multān merchants about certain goods taken in 'the Satoole vessell' which the *Falcon* brought to Surat; beg that the question of restitution or compensation may be considered. The Dutch are selling the cargo of the *Blessing*. Some *rūnās* sent with the previous letter should be credited to this factory. The Dutch aver that they have received letters from Holland, stating that 'their affaires goes on succesfully'. Great quantities of good 'Deriabauds' would vend here annually. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

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THE COMPANY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, APRIL 25, 1653 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 208).[1]

Had intended to send the foregoing letter [of April 1] by the *Eagle*; but owing to the necessities of the State for the manning of a great fleet against the Dutch, sufficient mariners are not procurable, and so the voyage has been postponed until September. She may be expected at Goa some time in the following March, and should be laden there and dispatched home about May. As this packet is to be sent overland, they omit copies of the letters carried out by the *Dove* and *Welcome*, merely giving the following brief abstract. They advised that the cargo of the *Dove* amounted to about 480*l.*, and consisted of lead, with some wine and beer. The Surat letters of November 26 had been received, accompanied by one from Consul Riley at Aleppo, notifying the arrival of Captain Penn, 'who had taught our factors a new way of retourning their trade from Bussora to Alleppo and Legorne etc.' Desired information regarding those concerned in this traffic, and suggested that part of the Company's estate might be sent home in that way. Advised a shortage in a parcel of musk, recovery for which was to be made from Lewis. Next acknowledged the receipt on December 3 of the letters of April 24, 1652, including one from Spiller which showed that he had learnt of the differences with the Dutch. Warned the factors to be on their guard against the latter. Ordered the *Welcome* to be sent home and the *Dove* to be detained on demurrage, should there not be lading enough for both. Gave notice that Edward Abbot intended to proceed from Turkey to India, and directed the factors not to countenance or employ him. Forwarded letters from the Portuguese ambassador to the Viceroy of Goa, 'for the better reception of our people and shipping into his portes'. Ordered the books to be sent home balanced to the time of the ship's departure; required all possible reduction of expenses; and asked for the yearly dispatch of copies of all pursers' books of the local vessels. This was all the contents of the letter by the *Dove*. By the *Welcome* they added a few lines, advising that her master had been directed to make for Diu, there to receive her

[1] This letter was accompanied by short notes to the Consul at Aleppo and the Factors at Basra, desiring them to forward the packet (*ibid.*, p. 210).

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lading, and for this purpose had been furnished with a letter from the Portuguese ambassador to the Governor of that place, to whom a present was sent. The factors were acquainted with Merry's desires concerning the musk; and were advised that some wine and beer had been put aboard the *Welcome* for their use. Complaint was made of the bad quality of the saltpetre lately received, and it was ordered that in future this commodity should only be sent in a refined state, as the charges for freight and customs were the same for refined and unrefined. Lastly, the factors were warned to see that the master of the *Welcome* did not overload his ship for the sake of profit. Have already advised the dishonest proceedings of the owners of the *Dove*. Now find that, contrary to charter-party, forty broadcloths have been secretly put aboard that vessel. Order that the prescribed penalty, viz. 10*l.* for every cloth, be exacted on the ship's arrival; and the same with other prohibited goods, as it is said that a quantity of quicksilver was taken aboard at Dover. Enclose letters for Fort St. George. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

JOHN SPILLER AT GOMBROON TO [THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT], APRIL 27, 1653 (*O.C.* 2324).

Young and Littleton started on the 22nd for Ispahān; and yesterday Hutchins and Joscelyn set out with a caravan in which was laden 6,800 tūmāns in specie, 'to remaine in Lare'. The same day arrived an express from Basra, bringing letters from the Company dated July 30 and August 27. From these will be learnt their masters' orders as to the disposal of their shipping, &c.; but here nothing can be done. Wishes the *Endeavour* were at Surat or in some Portuguese port, for she puts them to great charges and they fear that the unwholesome air will disease and kill many of her men. The English captured in the *Supply* have now been landed with their own goods and necessaries, according to the agreement made by the master. Yesterday some Deccan vessels brought news that the Dutch had seven ships in the Gulf, which had searched them for English goods. Hears that a small vessel was sent from Holland to Batavia at the same time as instructions were dispatched to India to make war upon the English; so fears that what ships there may be 'to the Southwards' are likewise lost ere this. The Dutch are reported to intend maintaining always a great strength

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in this Gulf, 'that neither we nor the Portugueze may enter into it'. They are much vexed that the *Endeavour* is still riding, so strongly manned, under Ormus Castle, and they talk of trying to burn or sink her; but this is scarcely likely so long as they have truce with the Persians. The Dutch report that the *Falcon* sailed from Swally, and near Sanjān encountered a Dutch ship, the *Olifant*; whereupon, after some firing, the former returned to Surat. Being much troubled by the new Governor for passes for some Deccan vessels, they find themselves obliged to gratify him, 'considering now is no time to stand out'; besides, the prize taken by the *Seahorse* is believed to be worth more than the amount in dispute. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

THE COMPANY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MAY 2, 1653 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 212).

Enclose copies of their letter of April 25, sent in duplicate by way of Marseilles and Venice respectively to Aleppo.[1] Received to-day the Basra factors' letter of October 8, 1652, advising that the *Falcon* left on September 1, the *Supply* three weeks later, and they were then about to follow in the *Lanneret*. They mention that towards the end of July the Dutch received letters from Aleppo, acquainting them of the differences with the English; whereupon they sold off their goods 'at any rates' and sailed from Basra on August 11. Trust that the news came timely to Surat, and that precautions have been taken accordingly. Supply particulars of private trade aboard the *Dove*, so far as is known, but fear that the list is incomplete. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

JOHN SPILLER AND THOMAS PARK AT GOMBROON TO HENRY YOUNG ON HIS WAY TO ISPAHĀN, MAY 4, 1653 (*O.C.* 2325).

On arrival he is to dispose of the stock of goods at whatever prices they will fetch. The Itimād-uddaula should be at once acquainted with the proceedings of the Dutch, and complaint made that the latter are allowed to sell the captured goods at Gombroon. The assistance of the Itimād-uddaula and other friends at court should be invoked for the purpose of representing matters to the King in a favourable light, in the hope that he will 'affoard us all favour

[1] The present packet went by way of Leghorn.

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and due respect, doeing better justice then his substitutes in this place have done, especially the late deceased Sultan'. Yesterday the Dutch sold the *Supply's* cargo, and they will shortly do the same with the goods taken in the *Blessing*[1]; Young should endeavour to get the purchasers called to account for dealing without permission from the court. Arrival of letters from the Company. Release of the crew of the *Supply*. On May 1 the Dutch chief dispatched Signor Van Wick[2] to Ispahān about the silk business, 'being at present in great hopes to have it much cheaper then they had it last yeare.' If they boast about their victory over the English, it is hoped that the King will take this as an affront. The report that seven Dutch ships are riding about 'Mobarack' has been found to be false. Require him to be very sparing in his expenditure, as ordered by the Company. Have just heard from the Ispahān brokers that they have sold a quantity of 'ambertees' and that the markets are mending. With the Company's advices came a letter from the Consul at Aleppo directed to Young, containing 'the relacion of another fight in England betweene the Dutch and us, in which we had the worst. God send us better newes.' (*Copy*. 2 *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE COMPANY, MAY 6, 1653 (*O.C.* 2326).[3]

Enclose copies of correspondence with Surat, which will show what has happened since their last. Now answer the Company's letter of August 27. See no prospect of lading a ship for England, or even of sending away the *Endeavour*, owing to the Dutch blockade. Were glad to learn of the arrival of the Portuguese ambassador in England[4] and trust that 'a firme peace' will be

[1] The sale of the two cargoes realized 312,902 gulden, and the whole booty was reckoned at 417,446 gulden (about 34,787*l.*). The *Blessing* was renamed the *Avondster* and the *Supply* the *Jasques* (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 550 (2)).

[2] Henrick van Wijk, afterwards Chief in Persia (1663–65). For an account of a trick played upon Tavernier by his orders, to gain possession of a packet the latter was carrying to Surat for the English, see Dr. Ball's translation of the *Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 164, and the report (1913) of the Hist. MSS. Commission on the Finch MSS., vol. i. p. 439.

[3] A transcript forms *O.C.* 2327.

[4] Negotiations had been in progress from the beginning of 1651. The preliminaries were agreed to in April, 1653, but were not signed by the Portuguese ambassador until fifteen months later. Even then his sovereign delayed the ratification until May, 1656, when the presence of Blake's fleet in Portuguese waters supplied the necessary pressure.

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made, as that will tend 'to curbe the Dutch there aspireing accions in these parts'. The latter 'had newes (and so had we) that the first December 80 of their ships faught with 40 or 45 of ours about Dover, in which incounter we have lost three of our ships:[1] which victory with great ostentacion they have divulged heere and in many other places in Persia'. Note the caution to be given to homeward-bound vessels to avoid St. Helena. Forward a packet of letters[2] received this morning from Surat. It will be seen that the Dutch there behaved more fairly than here, in giving public notice of their intentions. Perhaps they took compassion on the *Falcon*, 'for in her, they say (and we beleive it) went their Companies order to take our vessells, for then they had no other conveighance'. Eight Dutch ships arrived at Swally on April 2 and are expected here shortly, to remain in the Gulf 'all the heates'. After their coming, two or more vessels will depart for Batavia, carrying with them their prisoners, including the masters and chief officers of the vessels (except the *Supply*) and Messrs. Oxenden, Tapper,[3] and Broadbent. Most of the petty officers and seamen made their escape and are now aboard the *Endeavour*; their names are given in the enclosed list.[4] The *Roebuck* has been fitted with a new mast and will probably be one of the ships to be sent to Batavia; the *Blessing* is said to be another. The *Supply* is destined for Basra, where this year the Dutch 'will beare a very great sway and goe nigh to gett our convenient howse away from us, for they were about it last yeare'. Had intended to send Anthony Daniel thither to look after the dispatch of letters and other business; but, seeing no hope of the cessation of hostilities, they have now decided not to venture any goods thither. Some money from Basra has been landed at Kung on its way to this place, and this is all that they expect from thence, as they have

By this treaty the right of the English to trade freely with the Portuguese possessions in the East was at last formally recognized.

[1] This was the engagement off Dungeness on November 30, 1652, when Blake encountered a Dutch fleet under Tromp of double the strength of the English, who lost two ships and had to take refuge in Dover Road.

[2] For a list of these, and of the documents added at Gombroon, see *O.C.* 2319.

[3] Called Taper on p. 125.

[4] For these names (seventy-six in all) see *O.C.* 2328 and 2330. The list adds the names of three men killed on board the *Blessing* and of a cook's mate who died aboard the Dutch.

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instructed the broker to send no more, for fear of the Dutch. Cannot procure any bills on Surat, except at their own risk; so they have sent most of their cash to Lar for storage till the autumn. If the war continue, they know not what to do with the *Endeavour*; and they fear that many of her men will desert or get troublesome. If news should arrive of peace, she will at once be sent to Surat with the money. ($2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.* *Received overland November* 21.)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND MESSRS. PEARCE AND GARY AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT GOMBROON, MAY 7, 1653 (*O.C.* 2329).

Theirs of March 25 was received on April 19 'by the Kings junke'. Grieve much to learn the loss of the *Roebuck* and *Lanneret*, especially 'the base surrender' of the latter. Trust that efforts have been made to secure the release of those on board. From a junk that arrived about five days ago they were informed that the *Blessing* and *Supply* had also been captured. If, as reported, the latter was taken in Jask Road, they hope that the King of Persia will insist on her restitution. The aim of the Dutch is not so much the taking of their ships but 'the utter rooting us out of India, Persia, etc., that they may have the sole trade to themselves and commaund all in these parts, as they doe in other places; which we hope boeth this King and the King of Persia will soe farr consider off as to take our parts, since their honour and proffitt is soe much concerned therein. And could the King of Persia be perswaded to take our parts, it would be a strong inducement for the Parliament to send a fleete to doe as much for them as they intend to doe for us.' This should be urged to the utmost to the Persian King, who is well known to be favourably disposed towards the English. Trust that some one has been sent to Basra to look after the dispatch of letters. Request to be furnished with the Persian accounts for this and last year. Six Dutch ships left here about April 13 for Basra and Gombroon. Two of them came from Taiwan and two more from Balasore. They met with the *Blessing* off Cochin, but they were then ignorant of the outbreak of war. There were two more vessels in that fleet; one of these,[1] it is reported, 'is since fired by the Mallabarrs; the other lyeth upon the coast of Decan to endeavour to gaine a settlement againe of their people, that were

[1] The *Wapen van Batavia* (see *Dagh-Register*, 1653, p. 104).

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turned by the King of Decan out of his country for their insolence.'[1] In any representation they may make, it should be urged against the Dutch that they surprised the English ships before declaring war. Had not the English trusted to Dutch professions of amity, they might easily have captured the ships of the latter, having six against three. *PS.* (*May* 9)—Have now received the Gombroon letter of April 20, but find little therein requiring an answer. Approve the factors' action in sending the escaped prisoners on board the *Endeavour*; but think that it would have been better to dispatch that vessel away rather than to leave her to rot at Ormus. The Dutch would probably not have hindered her; or, if they had, there is no doubt that the crew would have fought desperately to escape a second imprisonment. 'We are perswaded it was more the cowardize of the commaunders then the men that our shipps were soe basely lost.' The King should now be importuned to cause the captured goods to be restored. No doubt the Dutch, if they can turn out the English, will claim half of the Gombroon customs; but it is hoped that the King will inform them that, though he granted them trade in his country, he did not license them to rob his friends and sell their goods without his permission. Moreover, it should be pointed out to the Itimād-uddaula that the Persian Gulf belongs to the King by virtue of the conquest of Ormus from the Portuguese, and consequently it is as great an indignity for his friends to be surprised therein as if this had happened in his own ports. It may be added that, after the escape of the prisoners, the English could have retaken their goods from the Dutch, but they thought it better to leave the matter to the King's justice. The *Falcon* remains here, but the *Seahorse* has gone to Mokha. Know not when to expect the *Assada Merchant*, but trust she will escape the Dutch. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

MESSRS. SPILLER AND PARK AT GOMBROON TO [THE COMPANY], MAY 20, 1653 (*O.C.* 2331).

The Dutch ships expected from Surat have not yet arrived, though the Chief here has already sold part of the goods expected in two of them. It is now rumoured that those two have been cap-

[1] The Dutch had abandoned their factory at Vengurla, fearing an attack by the Bījāpur troops (see *Dagh-Register*, l.c.).

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tured by the English. The Dutch declare that, according to intelligence from Holland, 'the States of England are sending out 20 men of warr'; hope that this is so, but are dubious. The Shāhbandar appointed last year was, when formerly employed here, a great friend to the Hollanders; now, however, as they have somewhat slighted him (preferring to rely on the Governor), he has lately shown a disposition to help the English instead. Narrate their negotiations with him over their share of the customs, with the result that he agreed to allow them 700 tūmāns, which is more than they expected. Explain that it is necessary to fix a lump sum, as, owing to the subterfuges employed, the customhouse accounts are no guide at all. To this sum will be added 49 tūmāns levied on the goods that came in two English vessels from Bengal; also 50 tūmāns which were sent by the Shāhbandar to Spiller, according to the custom of giving the English chief annually a gratuity varying in amount. The Shāhbandar demanded somewhat in return, but was refused; so he will doubtless bring 720 tūmāns to account as paid to the English, and pocket the difference. Assure the Company that the yearly gratuity referred to does not come out of their share of the customs, but is 'the Shawes enaame [*inām*] or free guift'. Trust that consideration will be had of the small wages given to the factors and the unavoidable charges to which they are put. Broadcloth, &c., much needed for presents, which are universally insisted on. Enclose a list of goods sold. Joscelyn died at Lar on May 13. The Dutch are much wronging the merchants in the delivery of their goods found in the captured ships. Cannot hear who is to be the new Sultān here, or what is decided at court about the differences between the English and the Dutch. (*Copy.* 4½ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JUNE 4, 1653 (*O.C.* 2332).

Wrote last on April 27. Now answer certain Surat letters, received early in May. The broker avers that the pearls sent to Masulipatam last year were worth much more than was advanced on them; however, as they are now to be forwarded to Surat, it is hoped that the business will be satisfactorily ended. Nothing has been heard of Hammersly. As regards the Banyan's goods smuggled by Smith on board the *Supply*, they found him selling

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them as his own, alleging that he had bought them; he, however, agreed to pay in the proceeds, on being allowed a sum due from the owner. Believe that the Dutch would have attacked the English ships at Swally had they had the requisite force at the time. The letters ordering the Hollanders to make war upon the English were unwittingly carried by the *Falcon* to Sind, whence they were forwarded overland to Surat. Narrate the attempts they have made to get letters through to the latter place. Money received from Basra, but no accounts. Had the *Falcon* been sent hither, she would doubtless have been taken. Narrate the narrow escape of the *Lanneret* from a similar fate on her arrival here; only an opportune breeze enabled her to escape within Larak and Ormus, 'in which places the Dutch had given a writing not to take or surprize any Portugueze or English ship'. Will remit some money to Surat by exchange at the first opportunity. Packets forwarded to the Company. What has been done about the customs will be learnt from their letter to the latter. Objections made by the Shāhbandar to the English capturing Deccan vessels bound to this place, owing to the consequent loss in the customs. Money left with the broker to remit to Surat. Have renewed the lease of their house here. Sale of certain pepper. On the 30th ultimo six Dutch ships arrived from Surat; three are said to be intended for Basra, the others remaining here. The *Concordia* and *Lanneret* are still out searching all vessels, and waiting to prevent the departure of the *Endeavour*. No communication is allowed with the English prisoners, most of whom were, until the arrival of the fleet, kept in irons in the hold. A new Sultān is expected here; meanwhile a servant of the Governor of Lar is in charge. Codrington writes from Ispahān that prices are low there, and that the Dutch are taking silk from the King at 50 tūmāns the load, presumably in consequence of the agreement made by their Commissary. The master of the *Supply* would have gone home overland by way of Basra, but has been detained to answer complaints from merchants whose goods were aboard his ship. No news having come from court or from Basra, they have decided to go to Ispahān. Have forwarded to Young the instructions from Surat to complain to the King about the Dutch; but they understand that His Majesty is somewhere about Meshed and that Dārā Shikoh is besieging Kandahār; so until the King returns there is little likeli-

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hood of anything being done. Moreover, the Dutch have ordered great sums of money to be given to various courtiers to secure their help, and probably the King will refuse to interfere. (*Copy.* 6 *pp.*)

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY MESSRS. SPILLER AND PARK TO WILLIAM NEWLAND, COMMANDER OF THE *ENDEAVOUR*, JUNE 8, 1653 (*O.C.* 2332).

Being about to depart from Gombroon, they think it well to leave him the following directions. He must remain under the shelter of Ormus Castle until fresh orders are received, keeping on guard against any stratagems of the Dutch; in the last extremity, if attacked, he should run the ship ashore and take refuge in the castle. He must see that no wrong is offered to 'the country people', and punish all evildoers. Any money required may be demanded from their broker. As he has now over a hundred men aboard, some additional officers should be appointed; John Mallison may be employed as a mate. Desire to be advised of all proceedings of the Dutch. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND MESSRS. PEARCE AND GARY AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS IN PERSIA, JUNE 11, 1653 (*O.C.* 2333).

Enclose a copy of their former letter of May 7, of which their messenger was robbed on his way to Tatta. Now answer the Gombroon letter of April 27. Still think that the *Endeavour* should attempt to escape, especially as she is so strongly manned, while the Dutch ships are said to have only about thirty men apiece. Believe that the loss of their vessels has been due rather to the treachery of the commanders than to any want of courage on the part of the sailors. As for the master of the *Supply*, if all tales be true concerning his refusal to fight, he deserves to have his goods confiscated and to be sent home in irons. The *Falcon* remains in Surat River. Deny that certain goods found in the 'Sattole junck' belong to Multān merchants; they have been claimed by a man at Rāybāg, who has been refused once and is now trying to get restitution at Gombroon. Note that the officials at that place are importunate for passes for Deccan junks, in order that the trade of their port may not be hindered. By the same reasoning they ought to prevent the Dutch from capturing English vessels without a declaration of war;

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however, if the passes are insisted upon, they may be granted, but only for the one voyage. The Gombroon factors are mistaken in thinking that the *Seahorse*'s prize was sufficient satisfaction of their claims; for she was released for 4,000 rupees, and the total sum recovered is only 20,000 rupees, while the damage is calculated at 20,000*l.* Trust that Young's mission to Ispahān will result in the restoration of the goods captured by the Dutch. It was a pity the English did not take them by force when the arrival of the escaped prisoners provided the means of doing so. Fear that now the King will refuse to meddle in the business. Approve the dispatch of an Englishman to Basra, but consider Daniel too inexperienced for such a task. Hear that 'Gechand' [Jaichand?] has been dismissed from his post of broker at Gombroon and replaced by some one from Sind; if this is true, they think it unwise to have got rid of him at the present juncture, considering his great influence with the chief officials. Hope that the factors will find some way of remitting money to Surat. If this letter finds them at Gombroon and the *Endeavour* is still at Ormus, the factors should confer with her officers and induce them, if possible, to put to sea rather than lie and perish in that unwholesome place. It is useless to expect aid from England or the early conclusion of peace. Have received letters from Fort St. George and Masulipatam, dated May 15, stating that the Dutch show no signs of attacking them on that coast. The *Bonito* and *Ruby* had arrived from Pegu, but the *Expedition* was still there. Intreat Spiller to be careful and considerate in his weighty employment. (*Copy.* 3½ *pp. Received in Ispahān November* 4.)

MESSRS. SPILLER AND PARK AT SHIRĀZ TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JULY 11, 1653 (*O.C.* 2332).

The order received from Surat to seize what money they could find belonging to the Bengal factors was notified to Cherry (then very sick), who replied that most of it had been sent up to Lar in the custody of Littleton. Wrote to the latter to secure it for the Company, and this was done, the amount being 400 tūmāns. This money belongs only partly to Bridgman and other factors, some of it being the property of 'Boughton the chyrurgion'. The Governor of Hūglī sent also eleven bales of goods on one of the vessels,

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freight free, entrusted to Cherry for sale; the proceeds of these will be looked to, as the Governor is sure to hold the Company responsible. Freight recovered from certain merchants who came in the *Blessing*. Left Gombroon on June 9 and reached Lar six days later. Gave the usual present to the Governor, who treated them very courteously and invited himself to supper. As the house which Young had hired was outside the town, they thought it unsafe to leave the Company's money therein; so prevailed on the chief merchant of Lar to allow it to be stored under lock and key in one of the rooms of his house, for a loan of 1,000 tūmāns, repayable on demand. Quitted Lar on June 28th and arrived here July 8. As they were setting out from the former place, three Dutchmen arrived from Gombroon. These men professed to be afraid that the English would attack them on the way, and so obtained a guard from the Governor. One passed them in the night and passed through Shīrāz the day they arrived; the other two came here a day later and are now waiting for their silk caravan, which is said to comprise 600 bales. The day after the writers left Gombroon, their messenger returned from Basra, but brought only a brief letter from the broker, advising that he had forwarded their letters to Aleppo. An inhibition lately arrived from the King 'that none whatsoever shall drink wine; and, that this his commaund may be the exactlier kept, all the wine was seized on and spilt, and all vessels to make it in broken, no mans excepted. On the way we mett this Governours servant goeing to Laar and Bander [i.e. Gombroon] about it; in which latter place we have some reserved to send to the Coast and also for our expences before others can be made; which we hope will not be meadled with; which if it be, we shall live in a very sober condition, water heere already being our best liquer; for the Kings order is so strickt that some of his owne servants have already suffered death for dareing to disobey and transgresse his so possitive order. But yet his wine in this place is kept intire, and more wilbe made when the grapes are ripe; which makes men suppose that this commaund will last no longer then the moneth of Remzaune [*Ramazān*], which will begin about four dayes hence.' The new Governor of Gombroon has not yet reached this place. It is said that he has some order concerning the differences between the English and Dutch, but its purport is not known. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

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AGENT SKINNER AND COUNCIL AT BANTAM TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE, JULY 15, 1653 (*O.C.* 2283).[1]

Their letter of February 15 failed, like its predecessor, to find conveyance from Batavia, and no further opportunity has offered until now. . . . On March 25 they received (per the Danes) a letter from the Fort of January 15, to which they proceed to reply. Note the dispatch of the *Roebuck* to Persia, and trust she will escape the Dutch; also the return of the *Love* from the Bay and her departure for England. The *Supply* seems to have sold her pepper at Basra on very good terms. On learning of the outbreak of war between England and Holland, they at once dispatched a *prau* to Macassar to warn the *Dove* to remain there; but five weeks later the *prau* returned without gaining her passage. A second was dispatched on May 5. The Dutch had received on April 28 advice from Europe of the outbreak of hostilities, with orders to do the English all the mischief they could; whereupon they have set out six ships to intercept the *Dove*. . . . Were glad to learn that the *Expedition* was lading at Masulipatam for Pegu, to proceed in company with the *Bonito*, Henry Greenhill going with them. . . . Complaint from Surat about a missing bale. . . . Desire permission to draw bills on the Fort to reduce their debt. . . . Send patterns of Coast piece-goods suitable for these parts. . . . Request to be furnished with a Warehouse Keeper; their whole number is but eight. . . . On June 20 Peniston returned with the second *prau* and reported that he had been unable to meet with the *Dove*. . . . *P.S.*—A fleet of four ships arrived from Holland in June, and thirty in all are expected to come out this year. Their General died at Batavia in May and was succeeded by 'Dheer Matsay'[2]. . . . Another *prau* sent to find the *Dove*, but proved unsuccessful. The Dutch have now seven ships watching for her. *PPS.*—Have just heard that the *Dove* has been taken. She might have been saved had there been enough Englishmen here to man the *prau* instead of natives. Have heard no particulars, except that the master is in

[1] For another copy see *O.C.* 2284.

[2] Carel Reyniersz died May 18 (N.S.), whereupon Jan Maatzuiker became provisional Governor-General, and was confirmed in that post on October 8, 1654 (N.S.).

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the castle at Batavia, while the men are dispersed among the Dutch ships. (*Extracts only. 4 pp. The rest of the letter relates to Bantam, &c.*)

GILBERT GRIMES, ABOARD A DUTCH SHIP IN GOMBROON ROAD, TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JULY 24, 1653 (*O.C.* 2335).[1]

Though they have doubtless heard of the capture of his ship, he thinks it right to give them the following account of the fight. The day after they had made the Arabian shore, they saw Bearblock in the *Supply*, but it was two days before he could come aboard, owing to the weather. He then told them what had happened at Surat and that hostilities with the Dutch were daily expected. On March 24, having got within Jask, they espied three Dutch ships to windward. 'We plying our voyage, they fetcht us up before night, but kept without shott of us, in parly one with the other. The day being farr spent, they concluded not to deale with us till the next, being the 25th. They drew their shipps together by sunrise: the admirall, Capt. Govert, in ship *Leepart*, burthen 500 tunns, 22 peeces ordinance: the viz-admirall shipp *Rubin*, 24 peeces; the *Lennarett*, which they had taken before, 18 peeces. The admirall berthed himself within less then muskett shot upon our broadside; the vise-admirall close to his stearne; the *Lennarett* close to him against our consort, being astearne of us. [The admirall comeing so neere us[2]], I thought would have spoken with us, but did not; forthwith tooke in his Hollands collours from the poope and put out his bloudy collours, and imediately gave us a whole broadside. The rest the like; we at them what we could. Thus we continued at this length eight howers. Seaven of them our people faught very stoutly (which I beleive Your Worships will heare from the Dutch); the eighth they began to faint, some goeing downe to the chyrurgion with small rubs, but could never get them up againe, being often amongst them to cheere them up what I could. Now the admirall laid us aboard on the larboard quarter, which was somthing the lee side; but did it to make roome for his consort on the other side. Our people belowe, heareing that wee were boarded, imediately left their quar-

[1] For another copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[2] Inserted from the second copy.

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ters, crying out to me to call for quarter; which I minded not, for (as you will heare by skiper Govert) the admirall twice or thrice in our fight called to me and told me we should have very good quarter. I utterly denyed him; God in heaven knowes I intended never to take any of them, but to fight it out to the last. They being on board, their men in our mison shrouds, I left the deck and came into the kuddy. Imediatly Mr. Christopher Oxinden came to me and told me our people were all gon from their quarters, refuseing to fight any more, and indeed not to bee seene, onely four or five of us in the kuddy. I was saying to Mr. Oxinden I had rather loose my life in the busines then live in shame afterward. He replyed I could not fight without men, saying there was but a small nomber of us in the kuddy, which would soone be toarne apeeces. In this very instant came a shot from them and tooke boeth the armes away of a young man which stood next to mee, named Mathew Standford. I seeing the nomber small that was stiring, not able to withstand the enemie, I advised with Mr. Tindall. He answered neither I nor any man could fight without men. I answered him: Should we loose our ship thus, haveing faught soe many howers? He replyed: How can you help it? Your men will not fight any more. Wheareupon it was (with sadnes of heart) concluded to yeald up the ship, being very much toarne in ship and yeards; small losse of men; three slayne in the fight; severall hurt, but cured by this time. Mr. Berblock left us very discourteously. Two howers (if not three) before wee were taken, hee wound his ships head [to the norward] toward Point Jasqus, the *Lennarett* chaseing him; wheare [he] runn ashoare some six or eight miles within the point; wheare hee cutt his yards downe to make rafts to gett ashoare, haveing cutt his boate away a little before. The vize-admirall, after wee were taken, made after them; to whome hee yealded, upon such tearmes as to save all his owne goods (and more then all, I doubt) and his companies; which was graunted, with there freedomes; all being performed. Our people, most of them, have made their escape: sixty at one time, in a Portugall prize which the Dutch made their prison: some others swam ashoare, and some by boates.[1] Soe that there is not above 38 or 40 left, which are all officers except three or four. About one hower after we were taken, wee were sent aboard the admirall, without saveing

[1] See *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 550 (2).

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the worth of sixpence for my owne part, and think the rest the like. God graunt me patience in this great alteracion. I am sick and weake, God knowes; very poore and naked, almost not sufficient to shift. They now are ready to set sayle for the Coast and Battavia, where they doe intend to carry us. What they will doe with us then, God in heaven knowes.' (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

PAUL WALDEGRAVE AT BALASORE TO PRESIDENT BLACKMAN [AT SURAT], AUGUST 17, 1653 (*O.C.* 2336).[1]

They learn that the goods sent from Balasore to Persia under the charge of Cherry have been sold and the money received, but they cannot tell how to get it from thence. 'Mr. Boughton had a great share therein,[2] who died in debt to one Churmull, a shroff in Puttanah [Patna], betweene 5 and 6,000 rupees with its interest; and from whome wee have often received very many troublesome solicitacions for payment or securitie for that debt, hee [i.e. Boughton] being then under the nocion of the Companies servant and did theire bussinesse in Puttanah that yeare.' Have put him off from time to time, hoping for the return of the vessels; and Blackman's letter of May 17 has given him some satisfaction. Stephens also died (while Brookhaven was here) in debt to several men at Hūglī to the extent of four or five thousand rupees; while Bridgman, at his departure, 'in case his adventure in the aforesaid arrived not, obliedg'd the payment of it from the Companies stock, by a writeing under his, Mr. Blakes, and Mr. Pitts hands'. Cherry is presumed to be dead, as he was lying dangerously sick at Gombroon in May last. He too is engaged 'to some Moores and Portugalls in Hugley at respondentia', and the factors are likely to be troubled about the matter. Waldegrave and others had also an interest in the venture; and he therefore begs that the whole proceeds may be remitted from Gombroon to Surat, and thence via Agra to Bengal; otherwise both the factors and the Company will probably suffer. *P.S.*—Bridgman's 'attorney' is here also. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

[1] For another copy see the *O.C. Duplicates.*

[2] Bridgman, when questioned about the matter on his return, declared that he himself had three-eighths share in the venture, Boughton a quarter, and Waldegrave, Cherry, and May one-eighth each; it was, however, believed by the Company that Stephens was interested as well, and that Bridgman's proportion was larger than he would own (*Home Miscellaneous*, vol. xxix. f. 50).

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MESSRS. SPILLER, YOUNG, AND PARK AT ISPAHĀN TO [THE COMPANY], AUGUST 18, 1653 (*O.C.* 2331).[1]

Enclose a transcript of their last of May 20; also of subsequent correspondence with Surat. Left Shīrāz on July 14, and on their way hither passed (without seeing him) the new Governor of Gombroon. Cannot learn that he has orders to do anything in the Dutch business. Reached this city on July 25, and the same evening received letters from Basra (written by the Carmelite friars and Mr. Elder) and some from the Consul at Aleppo, containing 'the relacion of a great fight betweene us and the Dutch neare Portland, begunn the 18th February and lasted three dayes, in which incounter the Hollanders lost many a ship and was forst to fly for it'.[2] These tidings, having been sent to the padres here as well, soon spread over the city, to the great vexation of the Dutch, who declared that the report had been made up by the English and the padres. On August 7 the Dutch chief here departed for court, declaring 'that he doubted not but to turne us out of Persia'. It is certain that 'they would faine injoy our previledges', and that at present they are in some repute, owing to their capture of English ships and to their having bought such large quantities of silk from the King during the past two years. 'The great prince of India, Darahsuckoh, coming this yeare very early against Khandahaar to beseige and, if possible, to take it, hath much spoyled that country and distresed (report sayes) that place; so that this King hath for this moneth and more continued at a place some 15 or 16 dayes journey hence, but now tis thought he is gon further; so wheare the Dutchman will finde him we know not.' It is reported that the Dutchman has a commission with him that concerns neither their State nor their Company, but they trust he will not be able to do them any harm. Were ordered from Surat to complain to the King against the Dutch; this they have forborne to do as yet, for it is useless to trouble him while 'the Hindoostanees' are besieging Kandahār, and moreover his distance from this place is a great obstacle. Besides, it is unlikely that they will be able to prevail against the Dutch

[1] For a copy see the *Duplicate O.C.* series.

[2] This was the Battle of Portland, in which Tromp had the worst of an encounter with the English fleet under Blake, Monk, and Deane.

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until news arrives (as they hope it will) of further English victories. Have heard nothing from Gombroon. Two Dutch ships are reported to have gone to Basra and one to Mokha, which makes them fear for the safety of the *Seahorse*. Have sent a letter to warn the latter. Sales of goods, as per the enclosed list. Found here Thomas Codrington, who begs to be again employed. Recommend his request to the Company's consideration. (3½ *pp.* *Received overland June* 14, 1654.)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, SEPTEMBER 10, 1653 (*O.C.* 2337).[1]

Enclose copy of their last of August 18. It is rumoured that the Dutch chief at Gombroon, with all his staff, have left that place and sailed it is not known whither. 'Yet wee suppose they are gon to Muskaat, for in that place they would faine set footing, and have ben theare severall times about it, but weare still deny'd. However, at our leaveing Bander, the Emaam or King of that countrey had men at port and dayly went unto the Dutch howse, but about what wee could not learne.' The 600 bales of silk sent down in charge of six Dutchmen are said to have been stopped in Lar, and their broker summoned thither from Gombroon to explain their departure. On August 30, letters were received from the English broker at Gombroon, dated about the end of June, together with one of June 24 from Hargrave, announcing that on the previous day he and his son had made their escape from the Dutch ship in a boat, and that the remaining prisoners were being very ill-treated. Evidently the Dutch vessels had not then left for Batavia. On these rumours the merchants are holding up their goods, 'supposeing the Dutches departure will breed a generall disturbance', and that then prices will rise. Of this there is at present no sign, the markets being, in the absence of the court, very dead and dull. However, it is probable that prices will be enhanced before long, for no more English goods are expected this monsoon and the Dutch are not likely to bring much, if any at all. (2 *pp.* *Received overland June* 14, 1654.)

[1] A copy is included in *O.C.* 2338.

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THE COMPANY[1] TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 12, 1653 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 218).

Wrote last on April 25. Have since received overland theirs of December 10, while another of January 17 was brought by the *Smyrna Merchant*, which reached Falmouth on July 3. Off the Lizard she encountered two Dutch ships and fought them for four hours, having two men killed and a few wounded, while the Dutch lost twenty-nine. On July 30 the *East India Merchant* from Bantam got safely into Plymouth, convoyed from the Land's End by three of the State's frigates. The *Love*, from the Coast, was obliged, by want of water and the sickliness of her crew, to put into Ascension, whence she departed on April 15 for Newfoundland. After obtaining provisions there, she left on August 11 and reached Plymouth on the 31st. On August 8 came a packet from Gombroon, bringing the news of the capture of four ships by the Dutch in the Persian Gulf. Blame the Surat factors for dispatching their three ships singly, instead of in company, as was first intended. Have already advised the postponement of the dispatch of the *Eagle*. That vessel being now in the service of the State, it is unlikely that she will be free as early as September; but either she or some other ship (or two smaller) will be sent about November. The following goods should be provided: Saltpetre, 'being a commoditie desired by our State and of great expence in those times of warr betweene them and the States of Holland', 200 tons, well refined. That refined at Ahmadābād, though white, is very bad and full of salt, and worse by ten per cent. than that brought from Agra. No Rājāpur saltpetre is desired, unless extraordinarily well refined. Cotton yarn, 150 bales. Indigo, 200 bales. Calicoes, as many as can be provided, especially 'mercooles', 'derebands', and Gujarāt baftas. No 'niccanees', as there is a large stock on hand; but a supply of 'tapseils' and 'Guinea stuffs' may be furnished. 'Pintadoe quilts,' 200; also 1,000 pieces of 'pintadoes'. The sugar received this year was moist and mealy, and much of it browner than usual; it has, however, been disposed of, and so a fresh supply may be sent to complete the ship's tonnage. Some coarse cloth

[1] This and the accompanying letters were sent overland, with notes to the Consul at Aleppo and the Factors at Basra or Gombroon (*ibid.*, pp. 226, 227), urging their speedy transmission.

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may be included, if they have any which they cannot utilize otherwise. No cardamoms are wanted for the present. Of pepper, 80 or 100 tons may be shot loose in the hold. Reiterate their desire for nutmegs and mace; a small quantity of the former has been received, but none of the latter, though private traders bring a great deal. Were astonished to find that a large quantity of sugar and indigo was left behind by the *Smyrna Merchant*, on the plea that there was no room for it, whereas the total cargo laden for the Company was less by 70 tons than is provided by charterparty. The reason evidently is the vast quantity of private trade brought home, which was greater than in any previous ship, and consisted not of coarse but of fine commodities. It it a gross abuse that the Company's goods should be excluded to make way for those of others, and they 'cannot take it well.' By the *Welcome* they intimated a desire to have part of their estate in Persia invested in silk or other commodities, which might then be sent overland to Aleppo for shipment. Commend this to the attention of the Surat factors, who should order that 20,000*l.* be invested in silk in Ghilān, and sent, half to the Consul at Aleppo, and half to the Consul at Smyrna, accompanied by two or more factors. 'Betweene the Hollanders and our States the warrs are here most violently prosecuted, though (thankes be to God) the victorie and successe falleth to the English. In the latter end of May last there was a great engagment betweene the twoe fleetes, wherein after a very hott dispute, with the losse of 25 of their ships, which were burnt, sunck, and taken, and 1,300 prisoners taken, they were forced to fly before our fleete into their harbours of the Texell,[1] etc., being pursued to their owne dores, where our fleete remained, namly, before the Texell, the Fly, etc., along the coast of Holland, till the end of July (in which time they tooke a great nomber of their shipping which came from severall places). At which time they, the Hollanders, having againe fitted their shipping, came out to sea with the nomber of 120 saile, commanded by Admirall Trompe; where our fleete, consisting of 105 ships, upon their owne coast, in the sight of their townes, were ready to entertaine them, and engaged them three severall daies, and in the end forced them in againe to

[1] This was the fight on June 2–3 known as the Battle of the Gabbard. A full account of it will be found in vol. v of *The First Dutch War* (Navy Records Society).

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the Texell, etc. Their losse in this encounter was upward of 30 ships (whereof the *Garland* was one), which were all burnt and sunck, and their Admirall Van Trompe slayne. The losse of the English was only one shipp, called the *Oake* (a ship formerly taken from the Hollanders) and twoe fireships.[1] Our fleete have againe recrewted, and a great part of them gone for the coast of Holland, and they have taken 35 more of their shipping; and the Hollanders are also in prepareing for another engagement.' Trust that the English successes may continue, and that the Dutch will be forced to give satisfaction for past abuses. Eight ships left Batavia for Holland this year. Some of them came away with the *East India Merchant*, but fortunately no orders had then been received to attack the English. Five of these vessels have put into the Sound and gone up to Copenhagen; the other three are reported to be at Bergen. They dare not venture home, and so the Dutch Company's sales are likely to be spoiled, for in any case the winter will set in before the goods can be transported to other parts. It is said that a convoy will be sent out shortly to fetch those and other ships which have taken refuge in the Sound. Five Dutch vessels bound for the East have been lying in the Texel for three months and more, unable to sail for want of men. They set out at last on August 27, but one of their number ran aground and is not likely to get off. Another ship, from Zealand, was maimed in the last fight and forced to make for 'Goree' [Goeree]. Reiterate the necessity of reducing their expenditure in the East. All factories under Surat are to be dissolved, except Agra, Ispahān, and Gombroon; and the merchants thus set free are to be drawn down to Surat or Goa and sent home to England. At Agra three factors should suffice: a similar number at Ispahān: and two or three at Gombroon. President Blackman's request to return by the next fleet is granted. After his departure six factors must suffice for Surat, and none of these is to have more than 100*l.* a year, except Pearce, who, if he consents to take charge of affairs there (as they entreat him to do), may retain his present salary of 200*l.*, with a promise of further encouragement should the trade flourish hereafter. The expenses of the factory should be reduced as much as possible, and all superfluous attendants discarded. As regards

[1] For this crowning victory see *The First Dutch War*, vol. v. p. 147.

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what has been recovered on behalf of the owners of the *Ruth*, it has been agreed with the latter that, if there is room in the next fleet, the Surat factors shall fill up with goods bought out of that stock, the said owners paying their proportion of the freight and a suitable commission. No factors are to remain who have not been sent out by the Company in that capacity and security taken here, except Jesson, who is to stay at Agra. The rest must return; if they refuse to do so, their salaries will be stopped. Should the stock at Surat be insufficient to provide all the goods desired, preference should be given to saltpetre, sugar, and pepper, as costing least. On no account is any money to be borrowed; in lieu thereof, the funds available in Persia and at the Coast should be drawn to Surat as far as possible. If any of the factors remaining should be willing to pay money into the Company's treasury at Surat, and 'beare the adventure thereof home', bills for the amount may be drawn on the Company at 6*s.* 8*d.* per rial of eight, payable twenty days after the arrival of the ship in the Thames; this, however, is only to be done if the money is needed for the provision of cargo for the returning fleet. Enclose letters for Fort St. George. (*Copy.* 5 *pp.*)

THE COMPANY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE, SEPTEMBER 12, 1653 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 223).

Arrival of the *Smyrna Merchant*, *East India Merchant*, and *Love*. Will reply later to theirs of January 8. Postponement of the voyage of the *Eagle*. Intend, however, to send shipping of equal tonnage to bring home the goods provided. Engagements between the Dutch and English fleets, &c. As the present Stock was only subscribed for five years, and no factors were entertained for a longer period, the latter must not be surprised if they are called home to lessen charges in the present situation. All factories on the Coromandel Coast are to be deserted, except Fort St. George and Masulipatam; and the superfluous factors are to be sent to England. As intimated by the *Welcome*, President Baker is permitted to return; but he is desired first to effect the reductions specified and to cut down charges as much as possible. They must leave it to him how to draw the factors and stock from Bantam, Jambi, and Macassar to the Coast, for return to England; also the surplus pepper at the two former places. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

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THE COMPANY TO THE FACTORS IN PERSIA, SEPTEMBER 12, 1653 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 225).

Acknowledge the receipt of their letters, with the news of the capture of the four ships. Repeat the instructions given to Surat for the purchase of silk in Persia and its dispatch overland to Smyrna and Aleppo;[1] this should be put in hand at once. Factories to be continued at Ispahān and Gombroon. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

MESSRS. SPILLER, YOUNG, AND PARK AT ISPAHĀN TO WILLIAM NEWLAND, MASTER OF THE *ENDEAVOUR*, AT ORMUS, SEPTEMBER 16, 1653 (*O.C.* 2338).

Wrote last on August 3, sending him the news received from Aleppo and asking him to transmit it to Surat. Daily expect to hear from the Company. The padres here report that a Portuguese fleet is expected in the Gulf, accompanied by some English ships; if this news turns out to be true, he should endeavour to get to them with his vessel. Should this be effected, he may then transfer some of his men to the *Falcon* or any other of the Company's ships that may be among them. If the Portuguese come alone, and fight with the Dutch, an opportunity may occur for the *Endeavour* to escape to the coast of India; in that case the safest course will probably be to go into Bassein, Bombay, or some other Portuguese harbour, and then send word to Surat. Should escape be impossible, it is hoped that he and his men will have patience until the writers return to Gombroon. Expect that Hargrave has now joined him. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 17, 1653 (*O.C.* 2339).

Wrote last on July 11; now send copies of that and other letters to the Company, &c. On September 13 came news that the Dutch had returned to Gombroon and that their silk at Lar had been released. The King is still advancing towards Kandahār. It is uncertain where he is at present, or how the war is progressing,

[1] For letters to the Consuls at these places, desiring their assistance, see *Court Minutes*, 1650–54, pp. 287, 302.

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though rumour says that 'itt goes not so well as itt should on the Persians side'. Evidently this is not a suitable time to trouble the court about other affairs, and so they do not propose to repair thither until it is known where the King will take up his abode for the winter; by which time they hope to receive advices from the Company and to hear of another defeat of the Dutch fleet. Repeat the report of an Anglo-Portuguese fleet being expected in the Gulf, and enclose a copy of their instructions to Newland in consequence. The Shāhbandar and his deputy at Gombroon have been dismissed, and another Shāhbandar is said to be on his way from court. He is the son of the one who held the post in 1651–52 but had to give it up owing to ill-health. The father behaved very well in that place, and it is hoped that the son will follow in his footsteps. When the latter arrives here, some of the factors will go down with him to Gombroon, to look after affairs there, and, if possible, remit some money to Surat. Have written to England in favour of Codrington; urge that this should be seconded from Surat. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

DECLARATION BY GASPAR DE ABREU[1] AT PIPPLI, OCTOBER 1, 1653[2] (*O.C.* 2341).

In 1651 [1652] he went to Persia in a vessel commanded by Henry Cherry and owned by Boughton and Bridgman. In Persia Cherry sold a quantity of cinnamon belonging to João Gomez de Soito at a very good price. When De Abreu came away, Cherry was lying in the factory very ill, and the former could not demand the money, as he had no authority from De Soito. On reaching Pippli he informed the latter, who thereupon requested him to put his statement in writing. *Appended*: Attestation of Antonio de Brito, notary public, dated October 3, 1657, that the signature is that of Gaspar de Abreu. (*Copy. Portuguese.* 1 *p.*)

[1] In 1661 he rebuilt the Roman Catholic convent at Bāndel.

[2] The date is New Style. This transcript is certified as a true copy by John Threder and Samuel Anthony, which proves that it belongs to the period (1676) when Streynsham Master was examining into the business of De Soito: see *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. ii. p. 60, where the document is printed in full, together with others relating to the case.

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THE FACTORS AT ISPAHĀN TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 27, 1653 (*O.C.* 2339).

On the 18th received letters from Elder at Basra, dated August 31, enclosing letters from the Company to Surat of April 1 and 25, and also some for the Coast, with a letter to themselves of September 30, 1652, and a short note to the Basra factors desiring the transmission of the foregoing. Elder has already forwarded copies direct to Surat. By these it will be seen that the Company have ordered them to provide sixty bales of silk, but for the present they can get but a small quantity. Wonder that the Company's advices should be long on the way, as with them came letters from London dated only June 13 last. It seems that two ships have been sent to Surat, and a third would have been dispatched had men been available. Trust that these vessels will escape the Dutch. Cannot learn that they are bringing out any great amount of means to provide for their relading; so will shortly send Young and Park down to endeavour to remit to Surat the money now lying at Lar. The letters from Basra say that the Dutch on their arrival would not be satisfied with the house they had occupied before, but demanded the English house, declaring that 'wee would not come their this yeare'. However, the Bāshā refused to permit this, and at last the Dutch were forced to hire their former premises at 60 rials per mensem. In consequence of orders from Gombroon, they sent thither the *Supply* about August 25, carrying 80,000 rials for Batavia. It is also stated that a Dutchman of quality—'they say, an embassadore'—has left Aleppo for Persia and India; but the truth of this is doubtful, as Elder makes no mention of the matter. Consul Riley advised Elder of 'another greate victory obtained against the Dutch betwixt Dover, Callis, and Ostend' [*see* p. 197]; this will perhaps 'abate their proud insulting carrage'. A letter from Hargrave, dated September 1, states that on July 28 the Dutch fleet (eleven in all) left Gombroon for Batavia and the Coast, as they reported; but on August 9 three of them returned and took in their silk and other goods and then rejoined their consorts, who were still in the Gulf. It is probable that they were waiting for the *Supply*, and that, when she arrives, some of them will proceed to the southwards, while the rest remain to keep the Gulf. Elder was

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told by the Dutch at Basra that their Chief at Gombroon was gone to take possession of Muskat, 'being given them by the Emaam; which said place they would make their cheife residence for all their affaires in these partes'. This is possible, as it is known that the Dutch are desirous of settling there. The markets here and in other parts of Persia for foreign goods are very dull. Have already advised the receipt of 400 tūmāns from Henry Cherry on account of the Bengal factors. He desired leave to journey to Ispahān to recover some debts, or at least to go to Lar for the benefit of his health. He recovered sufficiently to accompany them from that place to this; but here he again fell sick and he died on the 25th instant. He left no will and his papers are in a very confused state; but they will do their best to clear up his affairs and realize what is due. One of his vessels (piloted by Mr. Mason, who was afterwards taken in the *Roebuck*) was so unserviceable that Cherry sold her; as he would have done the other, called the *Mayflower*, and piloted by John May (since gone home overland), but no one would buy her, because the Dutch would not promise a pass for her. So she is now with the *Endeavour* at Ormus, and 'one Mr. Beard', that came in her or her consort, is looking after her. The reason why they did not seize upon her was because she was likely to prove more expensive than profitable: besides, they could not tell how soon they might lose her to the Dutch. From what their messenger says, they believe that their letters to the Company have reached Aleppo safely. Have no news regarding the siege of Kandahār. (*Copy.* 4½ *pp.*)

MESSRS. SPILLER, YOUNG, AND PARK AT ISPAHĀN TO THE COMPANY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1653 (*O.C.* 2340).[1]

Acknowledge the receipt of the Company's letters, after an inexplicable delay. In obedience to the positive orders thus received, they are buying silk, but as yet have only procured six bales, and those of rather poor quality. Are at a loss to know how to forward the silk to India. It cannot be sent overland at present; nor can they ship it in country vessels without the fact becoming known. Had not expected that the Company would send out any ships while the war lasted. As regards making a contract for silk, Spiller

[1] There is a copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

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wrote his opinion both to Surat and to the Company, but no notice has been taken by the latter. Such contracts (which, however, must be for a larger quantity than 50 or 60 bales) undoubtedly increase the reputation of the English and secure them better treatment, 'the King and his servants makeing soe much proffitt by it', but they entail unspeakable trouble, and after all produce no great profit. The Persians comply as they please, delivering silk mingled with so much trash and dirt as to cause continual complaints from England; and when any is returned on this account, they think themselves much injured, and incense the King against the English, 'he taking it as an affront in the highest degree'. It was well that Lewis was successful in evading such a contract (by the favour of the Itimād-uddaula), for he would have had to agree to the same dear rate as the Dutch, and also for a large quantity. The Dutch contracted to pay in ready money, and not (as the English did) in commodities; this saves them endless trouble. All the same, they are getting a great deal of inferior silk; but as yet they have made no complaint, perhaps in the expectation of securing redress at a more convenient season. Fear that the *Dove* and the *Welcome* will have a very hazardous voyage, but trust they will escape the Dutch. Were glad to hear of the defeat of the latter on June 4, and the consequent blockade of the Dutch ports. Should this bring them to reason, it is hoped that in the settlement their cruelty at Amboina will not be forgotten, and that they will be made to yield up a share in the spice trade. This will bring down their greatness and much benefit the Company's trade. (2½ *pp.* *Received overland June* 14, 1654.)

PRESIDENT BAKER AND MESSRS. GREENHILL, LEIGH, AND MARTIN AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 19, 1653 (*O.C.* 2342).[1]

Wrote last on August 2 [*missing*]. Now answer theirs of September 6. Trust that the *Endeavour* will make her escape from

[1] There is a second copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

The information here given may be supplemented from a letter addressed by Director Laurens Pit and his Council at Pulicat to the Governor-General at Batavia, dated September 3, 1653 (N.S.) (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 546). In this they say that on the arrival of letters brought by Mīr Jumla's ship from Gombroon they notified President Baker of the outbreak of war between England and Holland. The English

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Ormus. Were glad to learn that the *Dove* and *Welcome* had reached Diu, and hope that the *Eagle* has by this time arrived at Goa. Wonder at the strange course prescribed by the Company for the relading of these vessels. It is impossible to send goods overland to Goa through an enemy's country, to say nothing of the charges involved; nor would it be safer to carry them thither in country craft, which the Dutch would be sure to search. Will therefore adopt the suggestion made from Surat to put the Coast goods into the *Bonito* and dispatch her to Madagascar, where she may transship them into the *Eagle*. Of course the Dutch may attack the former in Masulipatam Road; but it is scarcely probable that they will interfere with the English in the King's port, 'for both the King and the Nabob bare a most envetterate hatred against them for there insolencies in this kind, and the Dutch were never more affraid of them then at present'. The enclosed consultation will show what is intended to be done. The goods to be sent in the *Bonito* will be about 200 tons, including some pepper; the rest of the *Eagle's* lading must be provided at Goa. The *Dove* and *Welcome* should also meet that vessel at Madagascar, in order that they may all go home together. A supply of stores and provisions should be sent by the *Eagle* for the use of the *Bonito*. Doubtless some of her men will be anxious to go home; beg, therefore, to be acquainted with what the Company have ordered in this respect. Two small Danish vessels, coming from Bantam, were captured by a Portuguese fleet near Ceylon.[1] They were bringing letters and accounts from the English factory at Bantam, and these, it is understood, are now at Tranquebar, whither several messengers have been sent to fetch them. Till they arrive, nothing can be said of the Company's affairs 'to the southwards', except that the pinnace *Dove*, returning from Macassar last

were apparently apprehensive of an attack upon Fort St. George, for, on hearing of the loss of their ships in the Persian Gulf, they at once commenced to strengthen the fortress on the sea-side, by constructing on the ground between the points a strong outwork of palisades and turf, mounted with eight or ten guns to fire to seawards for the protection of their shipping. To this no objection had been made by the Nawāb, though he had previously refused to allow the Dutch to do the like at Pulicat. The English had sold the *Ruby* to a Moorish trader for 800 old pagodas, and had turned over her crew to the *Bonito*. The *Love*, it was said, had been ordered at her departure to make for Barbadoes and sell most of her cargo there. The substance of this letter was repeated to the Dutch Company from Batavia in the following January (*ibid.*, no. 550 (1)).

[1] See the *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. nos. 547, 550 (1).

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July, was surprised by the Dutch off Batavia. Have sent to the Nawāb the list of goods landed in his name at Gombroon, and stating what the customs on the same amounted to; in reply, he avouched that they all belonged to him, and intimated that he expected immunity from duties for a similar quantity this year; 'which, if wee continue in this country, wee must not deny; or, if wee doe, must bee assured to suffer for itt.' Particulars of goods here for lading in the *Bonito*; what the Masulipatam factors can contribute will be advised from thence. Explain their reasons for lading the Masulipatam portion of her cargo first. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

MARTIN BRADGATE, WILLIAM JEARSEY, JOHN THOMPSON, FRANCIS YARDLEY, AND THOMAS HOWARD AT SYRIAM TO [THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE], OCTOBER 25, 1653 (*O.C.* 2343).

Acknowledge the receipt of four letters of varying dates. Proceedings of the Dutch at this place. Do not doubt to procure licence for the speēdy departure of any vessel sent hither; but to prevent the worst, Bradgate, who has come down from Ava in the hope of the arrival of an English ship, will return at once to that place and present the King with the copy of the enclosed. This letter is entrusted to one of the Nawāb's servants who is going to Bengal in the Dutch fleet, and they cannot write as fully as they wish, for fear it may be intercepted. Lament the loss of the ships captured by the Dutch. The *Expedition* is safe here in a good dock, awaiting orders. The Dutch dare not offer violence to the English in this place, though they do their best to render them odious to the people. The omission to sign the bill of lading was due to an oversight on the part of Richard Knipe. Error in the freight of the *Expedition*. The prices of foreign goods are falling steadily, while those of country merchandise and of provisions have much risen; 'the King having prohibited his natives by proclamations, upon payne of death, from selling either tynne or teeth to strangers, for which purpose there are diverse new watches sett in the way to Martavan, from whence most part of those comodities were formerly brought'; this will oblige the factors to take money in lieu of the goods due to them. 'There is alsoe a stoppage of gance [*see* p. 19], and there may not bee brought from Pegu more then

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will defray expences in Sirian and not to exceed 200 v^t[1] at one time, for which wee must have a passe. The Dutch, a while since, endeavouring by night to pass by the juncans with a boate wherein was laden 3,000 v^t gance, were persued and taken, and the men brought backe bound and suffred imprisonment till such tyme as the factors here with costly bribes had mitigated the Princes wrath; which after three daies obteyned their manumission. The gance is transported into the Kings goodownes, where it remains dormant.' Have but small hopes of providing any great quantity of 'gance'; and had the *Expedition* been sent away now, her cargo would have been slight. Certain merchants who were to put goods aboard her have agreed to wait until March; but unless an English ship arrives by then, they will be forced to make use of the Dutch instead. Forward a letter from the King, in order that it may be answered promptly; 'wherein hee hath not menciond all the goods hee gave us, hee makeing a distinction betweene the present and retourne of custome.' Thank Greenhill for the trouble he has taken in making up the books; for the future they hope to send in their accounts in the proper form. Knipe has handed in his 1651–53 accounts, which, after being corrected, will be duly forwarded. Notify a loss of 'gance' belonging to the Fourth Joint Stock, owing to a fire at Ava in May, 1652. Bradgate and the rest, on reaching that city (June 3 following) with goods for the United Joint Stock, were forced to hire a warehouse at 50 'v^t' a month, and then to spend 1,340 'v^t' in building a house. Men needed for the *Expedition*; also a chief mate, for, should Boyer, the master, die, the present mate, Smith, is too decrepit to take up the duties. Dispute with Masulipatam as to 'tallaculy'[2] demanded from Mahmūd Taqī. Much need a supply of paper and ink. (*Copy.* 3¼ *pp. Received at Fort St. George, January* 11, 1654.)

MESSRS SPILLER AND DANIEL AT ISPAHĀN TO YOUNG AND OTHER FACTORS PROCEEDING TO GOMBROON, OCTOBER 28, 1653 (*O.C.* 2344).

The silk entrusted to them must be carefully guarded from

[1] 'Vists' or 'viss': see the preceding volume, pp. 201, 291.

[2] From the context this appears to mean passage money for a servant sent in charge of goods. Mr. Dodwell thinks it may be Tamil *talaikūli*.

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damage by wet on the way; but how to get it to Surat is more than they can tell, unless an opportunity occurs to send it secretly in some Banyan's name. Orders must be awaited from Surat as to the remittance of their money; yet it had better be taken down to Gombroon from Lar in readiness. Newland has suggested that, if the *Endeavour* is to remain another year, it would be well to land her guns, topmasts, &c. at Ormus, and house some of the men near Gombroon, to save expense. Should the Surat letter order the detention of the ship, it might be advisable to adopt the course proposed; but it is feared that, unless the master is with the men to control them, they will commit abuses and cause complaints. Every effort must be made to secure a fair share of the customs. The landlord should be pressed to execute the promised repairs to their house. An inventory to be taken of Joscelyn's goods at Gombroon; also of those belonging to Cherry, whose papers should be examined for particulars of his transactions there, which should be advised to Surat. The lascars in the *Mayflower* may be discharged to save expense. Any letters from Surat should be sent up at once. Expenses to be kept as low as possible. The house provisions for Surat may be ventured thither in some merchant's name. *P.S.*—Instructions for the sale of certain goods. (*Copy.* 2¾ *pp.*)

MESSRS. SPILLER AND DANIEL AT ISPAHĀN TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 31, 1653 (*O.C.* 2345).

Since their last they have sold little. Have procured 40 bales of silk and sent them down to port, together with some fruit for Surat; possibly the Gombroon factors will be able to add to the quantity of the latter, as also to furnish some Shīrāz wine, 'for now our wyne man hath bought leave to make againe'. Enclose copy of their instructions to Young &c. regarding the transmission of the silk to India. Advices from Elder at Basra regarding the dispatch of letters to England and news from Aleppo. Four Dutchmen arrived here on the 18th from Gombroon. The new Khān of the latter place reached his post on September 17, but died shortly after; they had hoped he would prove their great friend. Cannot learn where the King is to spend the cold weather, or what has happened at Kandahār. Forward the instructions received by Cherry from Bridgman, &c., and the Governor of Hūglī's account.

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The latter's goods were to be carried freight-free, but May at Gombroon took by force his share; Cherry therefore included full freight charges, but it is doubtful whether the Governor will allow thereof. Their accounts for the present year will be transmitted to Surat by Young. The Dutch chief is reported to have gone to Kung, possibly about the Muskat business. 'If they settle theare, tis certaine that they will lay clame to the Portuguezes priviledges, one part whearof being the customes in Congue, with other duties the pearle fishing at Bariene [Bahrein] payes anually.' (*Copy*. 2¼ *pp*.)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 10, 1653 (*O.C.* 2346).

Six days ago they received the Surat letter of June 11, to which they now reply. Agree that the commanders of the captured ships did not behave as they should have done. Although the *Endeavour* is well manned, she is in want of almost everything necessary to manage a fight; her best guns, it seems, were landed at Bantam. It would have been useless to leave the escaped prisoners to shift for themselves, for they could not have got away by any ship; nor would the *Endeavour* have had any chance of escaping the Dutch, who are still watching her vigilantly. Young and the other factors met the Surat letters on their way and took copies for their own guidance. Bearblock has gone home, where possibly he may be made to answer for surrendering his ship.[1] If they had seized his estate, this would have been little satisfaction, for it is said that he owes more than he is worth. He denied that he received order at Surat to put into any port before Gombroon. Have made no payment on account of the silk said to belong to a merchant at Rāybāg; the latter, however, may prove to be a Multānī, and if so, they are likely to hear further of the matter. They were not expected to give passes to all Deccan vessels, but only to a couple which were voyaging home with Persians on board; however, they will not be troubled any more, as the skippers now 'take care for no more but to gett a Dutch flagg, with which they vapour to and againe'. Could not have recaptured the prize goods, for the Dutch landed none until a guard had been furnished by the Governor.

[1] On his arrival in England, Bearblock was imprisoned at the suit of the Company, but was released some months later on signing a bond to abide by the decision of arbitrators; the result is not recorded (*Court Minutes*, Sept. 19, 1654, and Feb. 9 and 14, 1655).

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The Shāhbandar advised the English to do nothing, promising that none should be sold without the King's order; 'but we found the contrary.' The duty of looking after the correspondence at Basra was entrusted to Elder, who was expected to remain there until September. Later on, if necessary, a factor will be sent thither. 'Gechand' has not been dismissed from the post of broker, though it is true that they have allowed another broker 'to come into the howse to make Gechand demeane himselfe the better; but yet in the Companies businesse never did any thing'. Expect that 'Gechand' will proceed to Surat this monsoon. If they have any trading at Gombroon again, it will be necessary to join another broker with him. What repute he has there is merely because he is employed by the English. Note the instructions given as to complaining to the King; but they expect that he will refuse to meddle in the matter, for, should he order the Dutch to make restitution, the latter would probably blockade his ports. Doubt, therefore, whether they can do much good at court, though they do not despair so long as the news from Europe continues good. Understand that the King is to spend the winter at 'Asharaafe'[1]; they have therefore a tedious and chargeable journey before them, with the possibility of losing much of their present reputation, should the King refuse their application. Have given instructions to Young and the rest to send the money to Surat, if possible; also to consult as to the escape of the *Endeavour*. Were glad to learn of the return of the two ships from Pegu. Marvel that the Dutch keep so quiet in those parts, but expect different news before long. Have been informed that the Dutch Commissary, while here last year, procured a *farmān* permitting the sale of any goods captured in the Gulf; this must be true, for otherwise the Dutch would not have been allowed to do as they did.[2] Whatever money, therefore, the factors might have spent in Gombroon in bribes would have had no effect. Moreover, the Dutch 'report that what they doe is for the King'[3]; which if true, then they have received such order as the

[1] Ashrāf, in Mazandaran, not far from Astrābād Bay. Shāh Abbās I built a palace there, in which he received Sir Dodmore Cotton and Sir Robert Sherley in 1628 (see Lord Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 376).

[2] This appears to be the *farmān* printed at p. 265 of the *Journaal* of the embassy; but it expressly refers to goods taken by the Dutch from the Portuguese.

[3] Charles II; see *ante*, pp. 126, 129.

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Company last yeare advised the Queene was sending hither out of France by an Englishman and an Armenian (for else these two men would have ben heere ere this); and that the Dutch is soe favoured, wee conceive is along of these wrytings.' Spiller is fully conscious of his responsibilities and will do his best. The new Shāhbandar has arrived here, but they cannot learn when he intends to repair to Gombroon, nor whether he has any orders about the Dutch and the English. The Hollanders who came up from Gombroon are returning to-day. Their chief that went to court has also got back, having given some presents to the King and received a gratuity from him 'for some pictures he made himselfe and presented; for hee is one of His Majesties painters, but the Dutch stile him theire Agent of Spahaune'.[1] The Indians are said to have raised the siege of Kandahār, 'and the drums beates now for joy' at the news. As Spiller cannot go alone to court and one Englishman must be left here, it has been settled that Daniel shall remain and that Codrington shall accompany Spiller. Letters from Basra are expected shortly. (*Copy.* 5 *pp.*)

MESSRS. SPILLER AND DANIEL AT ISPAHĀN TO THE FACTORS AT GOMBROON, NOVEMBER 10, 1653 (*O.C.* 2347).

Duly received their letters on the 4th, together with the advices from Surat. The instructions contained in the latter must be followed as far as possible. Would be glad to see the *Endeavour* make an effort to escape; if this is out of the question, some of her crew might be sent to Surat, should an opportunity occur. As regards remitting funds to that place, if they can get proper bills of exchange, providing absolutely for the payment of the money, they may adopt that method; 'but for to lend money and to take bills to be paid againe at the vessells safe arrivall is a way that we can tearme noe better then the spawne of avugge[2]; for, if the ship mis-

[1] This was Philip Angel, who had accompanied Cunaeus in his mission, and had afterwards been sent up again from Gombroon at the express demand of the King, on account of his talents as a painter. Angel, who was at one time a pupil of Rembrandt, is chiefly remembered as the author of *Lof der Schilderkonst* (see the account of him given by Mr. Hotz at p. xl of the *Journaal*). He is mentioned at p. 42 of the 1646–50 volume.

[2] This seems to be identical with the 'aug' of the 1634–36 volume (p. 232) and the 1637–41 volume (p. 272).

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carry, all is lost.' News from Basra to be transmitted to Surat. It is rumoured that two Dutch ships have been taken in the Gulf, probably by the Portuguese; hope that there are English vessels with the latter and that the *Endeavour* may thus be rescued. The money that came from Basra should be fetched away from Kung; also inquiry should be made why the Dutch chief went to that place. Regret the death of the Governor of Gombroon. Do not credit the report that the Dutch intend a war with the Persians, for they 'have too many irons already in the fire to looke to them all well'. The new Shāhbandar seems to be in no hurry to take up his post. Spiller is going to court, leaving Daniel here. The letters for Surat may be sent by the messenger returning to Sind. Transmission of certain packets for the Portuguese. *PS.* (*November* 12) —If their money cannot be remitted to Surat, part of it may be invested in goods suitable for this place, indigo for example. Spiller's accounts sent for transmission to India. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BAKER AND MESSRS. GREENHILL AND LEIGH AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 11, 1653 (*O.C.* 2349).[1]

Wrote last on January 8 by the *Love*,[2] which next morning sailed with a cargo amounting to 36,733 pagodas. On October 16 received the Company's letters of February 10 and 24, with a copy of a previous one of September 30, 1652, the original of which has never come to hand, to the great hindrance of their investment. The suggestion that the Coast goods should be sent overland to Goa or Surat is impracticable. In the first place, the ways are only passable in the dry season; secondly, there would be great risk of their being plundered by 'the severall great armies that lay up and downe the country almost everywhere'; thirdly, the exactions of the local governors would amount to as much as prime cost; fourthly, the goods must pass through the country of their enemy, the Deccan King, who would doubtless seize them. Propose, therefore, to send them in the *Bonito* to Madagascar or elsewhere, for transshipment into the *Eagle*. For this purpose the former vessel was dispatched on October 20 to Masulipatam to fetch the goods provided there, and

[1] For a copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[2] This letter is missing, but a list of the books then sent home is given under *O.C.* 2372.

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to return by about the beginning of December, by which time instructions will have arrived from Surat. There are no Dutch ships on this coast at present. The Company are mistaken in thinking that there is a large stock in these parts; for, after paying for the goods provided for England and Bantam, they will have scarcely enough to defray current expenses. This is due partly to the fact that no returns have been received from Persia for the goods sent in the *Roebuck* and the *Supply*, and partly to the failure of the Pegu factors to furnish the full quantity expected from them. The *Expedition* arrived there too late to return with the monsoon, and now she is obliged to remain, owing to the Dutch having sent a ship to waylay her. While the war lasts, they must perforce desist from any further investment for Bantam. Will be as frugal as possible in their expenses. Rejoice at the arrival of the *Dove* and *Welcome*, and trust to hear that the *Eagle* has reached Goa safely. Baker replies separately regarding the bills drawn on the Company from Bantam. Note the orders to make up their accounts to the time of the vessel's sailing, and also for sending home all pursers' books, &c. Will comply as far as possible, but fear it will be found impossible to balance the general books in the time prefixed. Baker thanks the Company for permitting him to return to England and will do so at the first opportunity. 'Both himselfe and the rest of us are very well content that, after Mr. Bakers departure, you have put the Coast againe under Surratt.' Enclose copies of letters from Bantam, which will show what has happened there, including the capture of the *Dove*. Will send their accounts by the *Eagle*; meanwhile forward an abstract of stock at Bantam, &c., at the close of 1652. (2¾ *pp.* *Received overland July* 15, 1654.)

PRESIDENT BAKER AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 11, 1653 (*O.C.* 2348).[1]

Explaining and defending his action in taking pepper at Bantam from the late Thomas Peniston and paying for it by a bill on the Company. (*Copy.* 3½ *pp.*)

[1] Another copy will be found among the *Duplicate O.C.*

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PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND MESSRS. PEARCE AND GARY AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 26, 1653 (*O.C.* 2352).[1]

Wrote last overland on March 23. The Dutch having proclaimed war, and eight of their ships being on the coast, the voyage of the *Falcon* to Basra was abandoned and her goods were landed again. She is still in Surat River. Six of the Dutch ships came to Swally, all being of between two and three hundred tons, three of them having about twenty guns and forty men apiece, and the others fourteen or sixteen guns and between twenty-five and thirty men. Two of them were from Taiwan, two from Bengal, and two from Batavia; their lading consisting mostly of sugar, with some copper, tin, spices, &c. After a stay of ten days, they all sailed for Persia. A seventh ship remained on the coast, with the men expelled from Vengurla by the King of Deccan [*see* p. 184]. These were landed at a town called 'Archara',[2] near Rājāpur, 'where they remayned all the raynes, but since comanded thence alsoe. The eighth shipp, being one of the best, stragling from the rest of the fleete, lost company off them and was sett uppon by ten saile of Mallabars frigatts, by whome shee was taken and fired with all that was in hir, and those of hir company that escaped fire and watter were captived by ditto Mallabars' [*see* p. 183]. About the end of April a junk brought the news of the capture of the four English ships by the Dutch. According to the 'country people' on board, the *Supply* and *Lanneret* made no resistance. For the fate of the survivors, they refer to the letters from Persia. At once instructions were sent to Jesson at Agra to induce their friends at court to represent to the King that the resultant stoppage of trade would much prejudice his people and his revenues; 'wee not appeareing in itt, because if wee should have bein knowne to have complayned and not found reddress, our enemyes would have the more insulted. But wee found that the King would not meddle with itt in one way nor other, nor wee any hopes further to prosecute that designe.' On September 1 came news of the arrival of the *Welcome* and *Dove* at Diu, with the Company's letters of February 10 and 24, and a copy of one of September 30, 1652, the

[1] A copy will be found among the *O.C. Duplicates*, and another under *O.C.* 2360.

[2] The copies have 'Atchera' and 'Attchera', i.e. Achra (see the 1646–50 volume, p. 328).

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original of which has not come to hand. Have now provided more than enough goods to lade both vessels; but the trouble is how to get them hither, for the Governor of Ahmadābād, pretending orders from the King to that effect, refuses to allow any saltpetre to be exported thence, and has further stopped all coming through from Agra. Jesson has, however, been promised a *farmān* for its release, and they have no doubt that they will get it to Surat by one means or other. The main difficulty is to get the goods aboard the ships at Diu. They have tried to arrange to carry them thither by land, but have been refused permission to embark them at any other port than Surat, 'least there owne ports thereby bee spoyled'. To send the goods by sea to Diu would be very hazardous, as the Dutch have here four or five small vessels, of four and six guns apiece, that lie continually at the river's mouth and off Swally; while, if embarked in the name of country merchants, they would be certainly detected to be English goods, as they are such as only the Dutch and English deal in. Besides, these commodities are provided by the factors of both nations at the same places, and their brokers meet daily; so that it is impossible for the one side to keep their doings secret from the other. Evidently, therefore, the only way is to embark the goods here in spite of the Dutch. Hitherto they have been waiting for news of the *Eagle*; but now they must act without her. The *Seahorse* returned from Mokha in the middle of August (having been ordered, by a letter sent after her, to give over her voyage to Basra), bringing a fair return and news that William Fairfax died of fever at Mokha about the middle of June. She was then laid up in Surat River, and her guns and men transferred to the *Falcon*. Thus strengthened, the latter has been ordered to Diu, to go thence, in company with the *Dove* and *Welcome*, to Ormus, to join the *Endeavour*. Then, after redistributing their guns and men, all four are to sail for Sind and Rājāpur, fetch away the goods provided at both places, and return to Surat. It is hoped that, should they meet the Dutch, they will do valiantly; the men in the *Falcon*, at all events, are very resolute. Forward letters received from Fort St. George. Have written thither, saying that nothing has been heard of the *Eagle* and advising them not to send away the *Bonito* until further intelligence. Cannot fill up the *Eagle* unless they detain either the *Dove* or the *Welcome* till next year; but the latter

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will be the cheaper course. Until money arrives from Persia they cannot buy any more commodities unless they borrow, and this they are unwilling to do. The *Assada Merchant* has not yet returned from East Africa. Buckeridge wrote from Patta at the end of last August, saying that, in view of the war, he intended to go to the southwards to make further discovery and sell the rest of his goods, after which the vessel would endeavour to join next year's outcoming fleet at Madagascar or the Comoros, and come with it to Surat. Have received many letters from Rājāpur, begging them to agree to take the remainder of their demand (on account of the cloth of the Second General Voyage) out of the customs of such goods as they may export from thence in future. Last year they received in money 2,200 pagodas towards the discharge of their claims, and they are demanding as much again; but, considering the poverty of the port and the present war with the Dutch, they are inclined to accept the terms offered. With regard to the business of the *Ruth*, they are still negotiating with the representatives of those concerned, who have brought a *farmān* from the King 'for better dealeing, with more security and freedome, in his country hereafter'; will conclude with them on the best terms obtainable. The Lucknow factors—Burnell, Swinnerton, and Rawdon—having reached Surat, their books were examined, with the result that they were found to be indebted to the Company over 36,000 rupees, 'which in less then two years tyme they had run out of cash and deceived you off'. All that the three have in this country will not make good the odd 6,000 rupees; so the rest must be obtained from their sureties in England. Will send them home by the next shipping, as well as any other factors that can be spared. The Lucknow investment has this year been managed by the Agra factors. Have done their best to reduce expenses at all stations. The letters from the Portuguese ambassador in London were transmitted to the Viceroy at Goa, 'and the liberty of there ports were granted unto us, or indeed rather never denyed. They are comodious unto us in poynt of safety, but not any way for the ladeing of your ships, for the reasons prementioned; especially for any goods wee shall carry hence to Goa, the distance being 120 leagues alongst the shore, where there is noe goeing but in company off the caphilla, in respect of the Mallabars; and this caphilla goeth but once in the yeare and, since the Portugalls hath

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warrs with the Dutch, come not neare this port by 25 leagues. Nor is the caphilla able to defend themselves but from the Mallabars, and that many tymes with much difficulty. Soe thatt its not to bee expected to lade the *Eagle* there (if shee doe come) with any goods from hence; though what the Decan country doth affoard wee hope to have brought unto hir.' Will observe the Company's directions not to draw any bills on them in future. Return thanks for the wine and beer sent out, which were the more acceptable because the supplies from Persia are cut off by the war. Have made inquiries about George Penn, but cannot find that any of the factors had dealings with him except Hammersly, who entrusted him with some goods for sale at Gombroon; the result was so unsatisfactory that others are not likely to trust a stranger in future. The said Hammersly stole away much indebted to merchants here, carrying with him about 10,000 rupees of their money; he went in a Portuguese vessel to Mokha, intending to proceed by way of Cairo to England; 'but wee beleive his extravagances there are such that hee will bring very little of itt home with him, if ever hee come himselfe, which wee much question.' Have heard nothing of Edward Abbot, concerning whom the Company caution them. The error regarding the musk was discovered by Lewis, who made good its value to the Company before he left Persia; the amount shall be disposed of according to Merry's orders. Defend their action in accepting the list of goods without detailed examination. Will do their best to bring their books down to as late a date as possible before sending them home. The present for the Captain of Diu[1] was delivered him by Capt. Wood of the *Welcome*, who died there of fever about a month after his arrival. His mate, Watterer, has taken charge of the ship and also of Wood's estate. Will be careful in future to provide saltpetre of good quality. (5 *pp. Received overland July* 10, 1654.)

MESSRS. SPILLER AND DANIEL AT ISPAHĀN TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 28, 1653 (*O.C.* 2353).[2]

On October 25 Young and others went down to Gombroon with

[1] See *Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 224.

[2] There is another copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*. For the instructions left with Daniel by Spiller at his departure, see *O.C.* 2354.

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40 bales of silk. In obedience to orders from Surat, Spiller is about to start for the court, to complain to the King about the action of the Dutch. It is feared that the expense in presents, &c., will be heavy. Forward copies of letters received from Surat, and other documents. News has come from Kung that at the end of May three ships reached Goa from Lisbon, bringing intelligence that a considerable fleet might be expected in September, accompanied by some English vessels. This fleet was to come on to the Persian Gulf; so they trust to hear shortly that the Dutch ships have been taken or driven out of those waters, as report says they have been from Ceylon. The Dutch chief was lately at Kung, on the pretext of buying pearls, but the Portuguese declare that his purpose is to turn them out of that port. Hear from Tatta that the Dutch have made great investments there. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

THE FACTORS AT BANTAM TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 20, 1653 (*O.C.* 2355, 2356).

... By a Danish yacht from Tranquebar they received on March 25 letters from Fort St. George, communicating the intelligence from home of the certainty of war with Holland... Capture of the *Dove* on July 11... News from India of the taking of four ships in the Persian Gulf. The *Endeavour* blockaded there. The captured *Blessing* passed this place about the middle of November[1] with about fourteen of the prisoners on board, including Adam Lee, Robert Tyndall, and Christopher Oxenden. Nothing has been heard from any of them, and it is said that the Dutch keep them in irons to prevent their escape... The Dutch proclaimed war against the English about April 28 at Batavia, the news having come from Holland by a small vessel... In August the Dutch took a small boat belonging to this factory... Wrote to Fort St. George on July 15 by a Danish yacht, which, however, was captured (with its consort) by a Portuguese fleet near Ceylon [*see* p. 205]... Pawells Hanseene,[2] the Danish chief at Tranquebar, has offered to deliver that fort to the Dutch, on condition that the latter should pay the

[1] She reached Batavia on November 23, and was joined there on December 16 by the *Roebuck* and *Supply* (*Dagh-Register*, 1653, pp. 155, 165).

[2] Paul Hansen Korsörs: see *De Dansk-Østindiske Koloniers Historie: Trankebar*, by Kay Larsen, p. 37. His negotiations with the Dutch may be followed in the *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. nos. 546, 547, 550 (1); vol. xix. nos. 551, 552, 554, 555.

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debts of the Danes on that coast, and should undertake to restore that place to the King of Denmark on demand. It is believed that these conditions will be accepted, for the Dutch chief here declares that the Hollanders are already in possession.[1] 'By report it is a most compleate fort; and pitty it is that the Dutch should thus get soe good and soe stronge a place.' The Dutch say that Bearblock surrendered his ship on condition that he and his men should have their liberty and carry away their private trade. . . (1½ *pp. Extracts only. The rest of the letter deals with Bantam, Camboja, Macassar, &c.*)

PRESIDENT BAKER AND MESSRS. GREENHILL, LEIGH, AND MARTIN AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 12, 1654 (*O.C.* 2358).

Wrote last on November 11. The *Bonito*, after vainly struggling to reach Masulipatam, returned hither on November 17. A great storm commenced on December 10, and lasted three days, during which, her cables parting, the ship was driven ashore and split in pieces. She had nothing but stores in her, and seventeen of her guns have already been recovered. Her men got safely on shore. Twenty-six of them have been enrolled as soldiers until they can be sent to the *Expedition* or taken in by some other ship; while her master, Yates, and his officers intend to go home from Goa in the *Eagle*. Their design of fetching goods from Masulipatam by sea is thus frustrated, and to bring them overland would cost at least 500*l.* or 600*l.*; intend therefore to do nothing until they hear from Surat or know that the *Eagle* has arrived. When the *Love* was here last year, by virtue of a clause in her charterparty she exchanged eleven of her crew for a similar number of the *Bonito's* who wished to go home, and the like in the case of four of the soldiers of the garrison. It is now found that her commander, Brookhaven, refused to pay the men thus left behind their wages for the time they had served in his ship, declaring that the Company must pay these arrears. Such is not the custom in the case of freighted ships, as it is the business of the owners to find sailors and pay their wages; so they send an account of what is due to each man, and urge that a recovery should be

[1] This statement was probably based on the fact that the Dutch had lent the Danes a few soldiers to help in manning the fort.

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made. The *Love* was ordered to leave her coarse saltpetre at Masulipatam, reserving the refined for England; but it has since been found that she put the refined ashore (perhaps to save trouble) and carried home the unrefined. Have had much difficulty in rectifying the many errors in the Bengal accounts, mostly occasioned by the disobedience of Bridgman and the other factors, and their quarrels one with the other. Waldegrave's accounts were not received until after the departure of the *Love*; while Bridgman was so sick and weak that they could get no accounts from him until the morning of her dispatch. The books now sent will show how matters have been adjusted. Balance due to Bridgman. His fellow private trader, Stephens, has died in debt, for which Bridgman, Blake, and Pitt had made the Company responsible. Nothing was known of this while the *Love* was here, or it would have been advised by that vessel. They have written to Surat about the matter, and order has been given to seize the proceeds of the goods sent by those men to Persia; and meanwhile the Bengal factors have been forbidden to pay any of the debts until the result is known. William Gurney died here on September 7; his estate is being adjusted, and accounts will be sent home as soon as possible. Coral is in much demand; but quicksilver, vermilion, and lead will not sell at present. The *Expedition* is still in Pegu. She was ready to sail at the beginning of the monsoon, but forbore to do so, on being warned that three Dutch ships were waiting to surprise her. About the time the *Bonito* was wrecked, one of those Dutch ships coming from Pegu was driven ashore a little below Narsapur, the loss amounting to 200,000 rupees. Would be very glad to hear of the conclusion of peace, for even if the English prove victorious at home, the Company and their servants in the East must suffer extremely. William Johnson, who came out as a factor in the *Lioness*, is now in charge of the warehouses and of the General Purser's accounts; he is very able, and they recommend that his present salary of 15*l.* per annum be increased to 50*l.* Have done their best to reduce expenses. The factory at Petapoli was dissolved nearly a year ago; and Winter and Palmer at Vīravāsaram have been limited to a fixed sum for expenses. Have urged Surat to procure part of the money lying in Persia; unless help arrives soon, there will not be sufficient funds here to pay the garrison

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charges and other outgoings. The general Coast accounts have been sent overland to Surat for transmission to the Company; while those of the subordinate factories will be forwarded by the next ship. Credit given to William Cokayne for the proceeds of certain drinking-glasses he was permitted to send out.[1] Have just heard from the Pegu factors (by way of Bengal and Masulipatam) that the *Expedition* is still waiting for a fit opportunity to return. (*Copy.* 4¼ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND EDWARD PEARCE AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS IN PERSIA, JANUARY 18, 1654 (*O.C.* 2359).

Wrote last by the *Falcon*. Now answer their letter of September 27. Should peace be concluded, the *Falcon* will be ordered to Basra and thence to Gombroon, to fetch away the silk and the money in hand, if the latter has not already been remitted hither by exchange. All Cherry's effects must be seized, and his debts collected, to secure the Company against claims in Bengal, owing to the impudent action of Bridgman and others in making their employers liable for their borrowings. The *Mayflower*, too, should be sold for whatever she will fetch. After the *Falcon* sailed, four Dutch vessels arrived from Batavia; three departed on the 30th for Persia in search of the English ships, and two more will follow immediately. Trust that, if the fleets should meet, the English will behave valiantly and redeem their credit. Desire to be kept informed of what is happening, particularly if peace be concluded. Note that there is a stock of indigo unsold in Persia; expect that it will soon be in demand, for little has been made about Biāna this year, and the price has risen to 48 rupees per maund. Even at that figure they cannot procure half the quantity required for England; so if their stock cannot be sold at a good rate, it should be returned to this place. Urge them to dispose of their China roots 'before the wormes make dust of them'. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 18, 1654 (*O.C.* 2360).[2]

Write by a junk bound for Persia. The *Falcon* sailed on November 30. Now reply to letters of April 1 and 25, since received from Basra. Cannot throw any further light on Davidge's

[1] See *Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 35.

[2] For a copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

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abuses. Vīrjī Vōra still declines to clear his account unless they agree to his terms; and they judge it inopportune to appeal to the King until peace is concluded. Are not so well stocked as the Company suppose, for not less than 50,000*l.* of their capital is in Persia and cannot be drawn from thence, owing to the war. Of last year's investment, about 10,000*l.* worth of goods for Bantam and Basra are lying here, besides what they have provided for Europe. These could not have been procured except by borrowing, and at present they are indebted to the extent of 265,842 mahmūdīs, part at ½ and the rest at ⅝ per cent. per month. Complaints having been received from the Coast that money was needed there, and could only be borrowed at 1½ per cent. per month, they recently sent thither 8,104 rupees, recommending the factors to cease investments for a time rather than run into debt. Enclose letters received from them. Regret to learn that the *Eagle* has not been dispatched. If the *Dove* and *Welcome* escape their Dutch pursuers and return in good time, it may be possible to lade and dispatch them to England before the Dutch can get back; if not, they must be kept here this year, unless peace be concluded shortly (as they hear from Aleppo is likely). Reprobate the behaviour of the owners of the *Dove*, and will obey the Company's directions when Noke returns. Cannot say what has been done in the way of private trade at Diu, but do not believe any was landed there, as the customs are high and purchasers would still have to bring the goods to Surat at great expense. Have forwarded the Company's letters to the Coast. As the *Eagle* has not come out, the design of sending goods to her by the *Bonito* must be laid aside for the present. It will be useless for the former to leave England in September, for she cannot enter the ports on this coast until May, when the westerly monsoon sets in, or get off again until the end of September. Pearce thanks the Company for their favours, but desires to be excused from remaining longer; so he intends to return by next year's fleet. Should a new Stock be started, some able men must be sent out to manage it, for most of those here are anxious to go home. The *Assada Merchant*, while on the coast of Africa, suffered severely in a hurricane and most of her goods were spoilt; she therefore returned, and fortunately managed to get into Bassein on November 30; have not yet heard the amount of

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damage sustained. 'You have alsoe bein very badly dealt withall by your people at the Bay, in Ballasore and Hugly; where by large presents they have gained a suspention of paying present customes, for the better advanceing their owne benifite and all other private traders, who have for these three yeares paid noe custome there, and now they are called to accompt to pay the whole for all the tyme; soe that your stock must make good the customes of private traders.' Moreover, Bridgman not only borrowed money for his own purposes, but made the Company responsible for its repayment, as will be seen from the enclosed letters. Have acquainted President Baker, who will take steps to remedy matters. Two vessels having been sent by these private traders to Persia, orders were given to seize the proceeds. Already Spiller has got possession of 760 tūmāns, and it is hoped that this will clear the liabilities in Bengal. Praise Consul Riley at Aleppo for the care he has taken in forwarding correspondence. He is being supplied, at his request, with two rich quilts, for the value of which he will give credit in his accounts, unless the Company order otherwise. Thus far they had written twenty days ago, intending to send the letter by one of the King's junks that was bound for Gombroon; but the voyage has since been stopped by the Governor, for fear the vessel should be seized by the Persians in consequence of the war between the two nations. Meanwhile, the factors have had fresh trouble. On December 30 the Dutch sent away their five ships, leaving only one in the road, a vessel of thirty guns, built in this country and belonging to private men. This would have been sent to sea last year, had they had Dutchmen to man her; and the same want prevented her sailing with the rest now. The King's junk having abandoned her voyage to Persia, it was proposed to send this Dutch vessel thither with the goods, manning her with 'these country sailers'. But neither merchants nor mariners would have anything to do with the ship unless she were furnished with an English pass; so the Dutch colours were replaced by those of 'the Moores', and Mohan Dās, the Dutch shroff, pretending to be the owner, made application for a permit. This was refused, in spite of pressure from the Governor for many days together. At last he sent a number of officials and merchants to the factory, with orders not to quit it without the desired pass,

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and the factors found themselves obliged to comply. At the same time they protested strongly against the Governor taking the side of the Dutch and wronging the English in many respects, and threatened that some day satisfaction would be required. In reply, the charge of partiality for the Hollanders was denied and the factors were asked in what respect they had been wronged. Amongst other things they instanced the non-payment of the insurance effected on the *Supply*. After her departure, suspecting the intentions of the Dutch, they had insured her for 7,500 rupees; but when news came of her capture, the insurers refused to pay, and were upheld in this by the Governor. An appeal was made to court, but, owing to the intervention of the Governor, the application was referred to his disposal, and he thereupon appointed four Banyans to examine the matter. These reported that the English ought to be paid and that the insurers should then be compensated by the Dutch; but the Governor would do nothing which might prejudice the latter. In addition, the Governor of Ahmadābād last year made stay of all the saltpetre provided there by the English, and since has seized a consignment from Agra; and unless they can induce him to release it, they know not where to provide saltpetre for the present fleet. Suspect that the Dutch are at the bottom of this further trouble. Trust that a peace will soon be made, for these people seem inclined to take sides with the Dutch and satisfy their own greed out of the Company's goods on shore. In any case it will be desirable to make the Indians 'censible of these injuries they doe us', or there will be no trading in quiet and safety in future; and resolute action is necessary, in order to obtain new privileges, 'for your old ones are quite worne out, both here and in Persia.' The slight interruption of trade with the Deccan has produced good effects; as they have obtained not only compensation for past injuries but also increased privileges for the future. The like may be expected here and in Persia, if similar pressure be applied. Were glad to learn that the Company had some of Hammersly's means in their hands. By the first ships will be sent a list of his debts; the creditors are very importunate to be paid out of the Company's funds, but this will not be done if it can be avoided. In any case, the Indian claimants should be paid before his estate is parted with. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.* *Received overland July* 15.)

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JOHN SPILLER AT 'FARABAUD'[1] TO THE FACTORS AT GOMBROON, JANUARY 30, 1654 (*O.C.* 2361).[2]

Of his departure from Ispahān they have doubtless been informed. On December 14 he wrote them a brief letter from 'Shakhoh'.[3] Eight days later, they met the new Governor of Gombroon, but could only salute him in passing. They had entered the hills on December 17 and it was not until a week later that they got clear of them. On the 26th they reached a place close by Ashrāf, and the Itimād-uddaula next day ordered a house to be provided for them in that town. However, the same morning the King left Ashrāf 'and proceeded softly for this place, for, in regard of aboundance of wild fowle, there is much sport and pleasure on the way'. They were therefore obliged to wait at Ashrāf until January 3, when, in obedience to instructions from the Itimād-uddaula, Spiller journeyed to Ferahābād. His Majesty did not arrive till the 10th; and, owing to bad weather, 'it was the 22th before the King inordered my repaire unto him, when he sate out for all strangers to speake with him'. Nothing, however, was done about Spiller's business, though he was told that his petition was read; and yesterday the King set out for Ashrāf, and Spiller has order to follow him thither. 'The Emperor of Russia hath sent to the King a very greate embassadore, and by report brings a mighty present from his master. He is in Cosbeene [Kasbin], where he stayes for order to what place he shall repaire to; who is sent for hither, but to come with a few of his traine, for men say he hath neere 300 attendants. What he comes aboute I cannot tell; neither learne what the Jesuitts businesse was; onely in breife I am tould it was about some important matter, and that he will performe strange things. He very much indeavoured for lycence to settle themselves in all parts of this kingdome, but it would not be graunted more then Asphahaune, and so to Bandar Gumbroone. However, was

[1] Ferahābād, 26 miles north-west of Ashrāf (see p. 210), was another favourite abode of Shāh Abbās I, and the scene of his death. It is now a miserable village (Lord Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 378, and a paper by Mr. Rabino in the *Geographical Journal* for Nov., 1913).

[2] For another copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[3] Apparently identical with Herbert's 'Syacow', i.e. the Siyāh Kuh, or Black Mountain, about half-way between Ispahān and Ashrāf.

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promised that when he had effected what he promised he would doe, there should be firmaunds given him for Tabreeze etc. greate citties; but I hope God will frusterate all thier desígnes, for beleive tis no good embasage he came aboute, being that they seldome imploy themselves in that which is upright. Three or four letters this King gave him for the King of France, the Pope, the Jesuitts Grand Master; which he is gon to deliver, if he escaps the Turks.' Spiller has had some dispute with the courtiers about the Hollanders surprising the English ships, and was told by the King's Steward that the former were in the right, 'saying we knew of warrs, for that the Dutch and we have had warrs ever since our King's life was taken away, which was the occasion thereof, for what they did was in his behalfe; soe, we knoweing of the difference, we should have done well to have made ourselvs strong in shiping and lookt better after our businese; which did not concearne his master, for what had he to do with the Dutch or us in such a case as this; for he was king of the land and not of the sea'. From this Spiller infers that the matter has already been discussed by the King and his nobles, and that any answer he may get will probably be to the same effect. If so, it would have been better for him to have refrained from coming, for he is obliged to give even greater presents than usual, in order to uphold the reputation of the English and, if possible, recover some part of their losses. The factors know what the Shāhbandar (who is the Steward's nephew) said when he was at Ispahān; so it is to be feared that he will give them some trouble about the customs, concerning which Spiller intends to speak to the Itimād-uddaula. 'The Hollanders have so praised and extolled themselves and their strength, and dispraised the English nation, as tis almost past beleife; which by thier takeing our shipps the Persian beleives, and are, I suppose, glad of the differance, that they may finde or pretend meanes to cutt of our right of customes.' However, before the time comes for making up the account of the latter, Spiller hopes to be at Gombroon to assist them. (*Copy.* 2¼ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND MESSRS. PEARCE AND GARY AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS IN PERSIA, FEBRUARY 11, 1654 (*O.C.* 2362).

Wrote last on January 21, drawing on them at the same time

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bills for 752½ tūmāns. By this time they will have heard from the Dutch of the loss of the *Endeavour* and the *Falcon*. The former was sunk, and the latter surrendered, after being deserted by most of her men. The *Welcome* and the *Dove* arrived here on February 5, having lost only one man, 'for they kept farr enough off'. Gary and Griffin came in the former, Griffin being wounded in the arm by a small shot. Two of the Dutch ships returned hither on the 7th, bringing the *Falcon* in triumph, and about eighty prisoners, 'to our noe little dishonor'. All books and letters sent by the *Falcon* are lost. It was fortunate that the silk had been put into the *Welcome*; but the factors were wrong in venturing it at all, and are now prohibited from sending any more goods without express order from Surat, unless peace be concluded. Payment to be made at Gombroon on account of Lewis. Cannot approve of Daniel Otgher being detained to assist the factors. They have Littleton and others there, who, although sent from Bantam and the Coast, are still bound to serve the Company at any place; should they refuse, they must be ordered to give an account of all their transactions, hand over the proceeds, and then take what course they please. Request an account of the freight of the *Roebuck*. (*Copy*. 1¾ *pp*.)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND EDWARD PEARCE AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS IN PERSIA, FEBRUARY 14, 1654 (*O.C.* 2362).

Have now received theirs of January 23. The *Mayflower* should be sold. Beard may be paid his wages until the time she was blockaded by the Dutch; but for the rest, as he is not the Company's servant, he should be referred to the owners of the vessel. Desire an account of the money expended by Hargrave and the master of the *Endeavour*. A fresh supply of 'house provisions' is also desired, as that already sent is lost. A payment to be made out of the estate of 'Perwanna' [Parwāna]. No news has come from Europe. The articles desired by the Shāhbandar are not procurable here; so the factors must write to England for them. The Arab horse is very sickly. Had a meeting yesterday with the Dutch Commissary, and procured the release on parole of Messrs. Newland, [Joseph] Blackman, and Allen. If it be true, as the Dutch report, that there was another battle in August,[1] the conclu-

[1] This was incorrect, unless it was some slight skirmish.

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sion of peace cannot be as near as they had hoped; so, unless more favourable news arrives by the end of March, the factors would do well to sell their indigo instead of reserving it for England. Littleton, if willing, may be retained for service in Persia, should Park be still indisposed; the other two factors may proceed to the Coast at the first opportunity. In the event of peace being declared, one half of the stock of money at Gombroon should be sent to the Coast under the care of Cartwright and Hutchins, and the other half to Surat; but if a Dutch conveyance be available, two-thirds may be forwarded to this place and only one-third to the Coast. *PS.*—Authorize compliance with the request made by the Masulipatam factors that the customs on the Nawāb's goods be remitted. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

JOHN SPILLER AT ASHRĀF TO THE FACTORS AT GOMBROON, FEBRUARY 16, 1654 (*O.C.* 2363).

Answers various points in theirs of December 19, received eleven days ago. Their landlord, Beg Mahmūd, should be urged to do the necessary repairs as soon as possible. Can say nothing about the payment of Beard's wages; but the *Mayflower* may be trimmed as far as is necessary. The Coast factors' expenses at Lar may be brought to account, if reasonable; but Hargrave's disbursements must be referred to Surat. Advices to be sent thither. Does not believe that the late Governor ever intended to force the Dutch to restore the money, &c., taken from the Indian merchants. Has heard rumours of an English victory over the Dutch in the Gulf; and he quite expects that a great fleet of English and Portuguese will shortly arrive, for he is informed that the squadron promised by the King of Portugal has reached Goa and is to come for Persia. Notes the death of 'Perwanna', whose son he has ordered to Gombroon to take his father's place, in conjunction with 'Khalcadas' [Kālka Dās]. 'Gechand' may be allowed to go to Surat, if he leaves 'Tockersee' [Thākursī] to supply his place. Hopes that Park is better. The King's answer to his petition was as predicted in his last letter. A *farmān* was granted and sent to him for perusal before being signed. Finding it unsatisfactory, he declined it and begged that it might be altered, but was told that the King would give no other reply, though the main point of the business was not

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so much as mentioned. On the 11th a vest and a horse were sent to him, with orders to visit the King next day; 'which I did, and after dinner came away.' Has not yet received the *farmān*; neither does he care whether he has it or not, in its present form. However, he expects it shortly, for only the King's seal is wanting. The above was written four days ago. Since then, on the 15th, he received the *farmān*, and he is now preparing for his departure. The weather has been bad ever since his arrival, and the way through the mountains is said to be almost impassable. A copy of this letter should be sent to Surat. It is expected that the King will move to Ispahān, unless Kandahār is again attacked. Some of his troops have returned to this place, and Alī Qulī Khān, the King's General, is expected shortly. (*Copy.* 3¾ *pp.*)

PROTEST BY PRESIDENT BAKER AT FORT ST. GEORGE AGAINST JOHN LEIGH, FEBRUARY 16, 1654 (*O.C.* 2364).[1]

Leigh must be aware (though ignorant enough in other matters) of the great trouble Baker has had since his arrival in settling the distractions in this place; and he knows that the Brahman 'Vincatee' stands charged in the Company's books with a great sum, part of which he gave out to the 'painters' of this town. The latter, in June last, were induced to undertake the delivery of their goods in two months, but to this day they have hardly brought in one half. Yesterday, therefore, Baker gave order to summon them to the 'Choutree or Townehouse'[2]; and learning that many of them had assembled there, he sent to know whether Leigh and the Agent [Greenhill] were in the Fort, as he wished to consult them about the matter. Learning that they were both out, he went to the Agent's house,[3] where he was informed that they were at the new house built by William Gurney. He proceeded thither and explained to them his business; but he was answered only with 'impertinent discourses' about Venkata and his debt (for which he has

[1] Printed, in part, in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (vol. i. p. 129), where the circumstances of the dispute are fully explained.

[2] For the Madras Choultry see a note by Col. Love on p. 127 of the work quoted above.

[3] In *O.C.* 2466 Greenhill explains that on Baker's arrival he moved to his own house outside the Fort, 'built at my owne charge, against his comming, there beeing noe accomodacion for mee within'. For this house see Col. Love's note on p. 129 of his first volume.

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been detained prisoner in the Fort since October 17), and was asked why the said Venkata and his brother were not kept close prisoners and forced to pay what they owed. Baker replied that, if Venkata were thus disgraced, none of his debtors would pay him a penny. During this discourse Leigh averred, in the hearing of Greenhill, Yates, and others, that Baker 'had undertaken to the Company for the Bramonee'. If this means that the President has promised to pay what Venkata owes, he utterly denies the statement and calls upon Leigh to produce evidence of such an undertaking. Should Leigh fail to prove the charge or to confess that it is false, Baker protests against him, alleging that the statement is untrue, scandalous, and malicious. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

THE ANSWER OF JOHN LEIGH, FEBRUARY 17, 1654 (*O.C.* 2365).

In spite of his ignorance, he is aware that Venkata owes over 4,000 pagodas, and that the 'painters' are indebted about 800. However, the Agent has promised to be responsible for the latter debt, 'and thares an end of that.' Admits having said that Baker had given his word for Venkata, and by this he meant that the undertaking was to pay the debt, for is it likely that Gurney would have made himself responsible for the debt of Rudriga and Timmanna while Baker's only liability was for the due appearance of Venkata? Moreover, Greenhill offered to pay the whole debt of the latter, but Baker refused to accept the money; and by so doing he certainly rendered himself liable to make good to the Company any loss that may be incurred. *PS.*—The time when Greenhill offered to pay the debt was before he went to Pegu in January, 1653, and this was done in the presence of Gurney, Leigh, and others. Baker's undertaking was given in the consultation about Rudriga and Timmanna. As Baker has stigmatized him as ignorant of the Company's business and by implication unfit therefore to be one of the Council, Leigh feels constrained to address the Company direct on the subject, to vindicate his own reputation and that of the friends who brought him into the service. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

THE COMPANY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, FEBRUARY 20, 1654 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 230).

Wrote last on September 12. Have since received letters from

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Gombroon of March 7 and from Surat of March 23. Had intended to dispatch the *Eagle* by January 1 at the latest, but the difficulties caused by the war have 'put all trade to a stand'. However, she is now about to sail, under the charge of Robert Collier as master. Her cargo consists of broadcloth, lead in pigs and bars (invoiced at 17*s.* 6*d.* and 18*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. respectively), vermilion (5*s.* per lb.) and quicksilver (4*s.* per lb.), with some fine scarlet cloth (35*s.* per yard) and other articles for presents; total 4,850*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* If Vīrjī Vōra still refuses to clear his account, an appeal should be made to the King. Request particulars of the debts said to be due in India by the Fourth Joint Stock. Point out a mistake in the valuation of that Stock's effects. Complain of want of information regarding the estates of deceased men. Require a list of those who were taken prisoner by the Dutch and of what is due to them; also an account of what was aboard the captured ships and of the value of the latter, in order that satisfaction may be required from the Dutch. Further desire a complete list of the Company's servants, both at sea and ashore. Approve their endeavours to secure a larger proportion of the English share of the Gombroon customs. The broadcloth now sent is all red or green, and will, it is hoped, be sold readily. They will try to suppress private trade in that article. Are glad that the dispute about Breton's estate is settled. The bale of silk will be accounted for to the owners of the *Ruth*. The bill of exchange in favour of William Keatly has been paid. Note the proceedings of the Dutch at Surat, and approve the intention to apply to the King for protection. Trust that the *Dove* and *Welcome* have arrived in safety and have been dispatched for England. Should both the Presidents at Surat and Fort St. George desire to go home from Goa in the *Eagle*, they must divide the great cabin between them. Dispute between Merry and Lewis over some musk. Matthew Andrews and John Lambton are to be included among the factors to be retained in India. Intend, if peace be concluded, to send a vessel to the Coast and Bengal. Baker may return in her, in preference to the *Eagle*, if he has not already started. The charter-party will show that arrangements have been made to bring home 100 seamen, the Company paying 10*l.* for the passage of each; but this benefit must be allowed only to such as were engaged in England by the Company. Sword-blades, looking-glasses, and

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'prospective glasses' sent for presents. At the request of his friends, Richard Yardley, who went out as carpenter in the *Lanneret*, is permitted to return in the *Eagle*. A ship is being fitted out here by some private men for the Coast and Bengal, and possibly one or more will follow for other parts of India: the Company's servants are strictly forbidden to render them any assistance whatever, on penalty of instant dismissal. Cannot tell what the issue will be of the war with the Dutch. 'An ambassador[1] is at present here, and hath brought back from Holland with him the articles for peace, signed by the two Provinces of Holland and Freizland; and it is reported that three others have since consented unto them. Notwithstanding, great preparations are made for warr on both sides. A considerable part of our navy is already put to sea. But [it] is hoped that now a peace will be concluded and that noe more blood will be spilt in this quarrell; which God grant.' Enclose letters for Fort St. George; also one from the Portuguese ambassador, addressed to the Viceroy of Goa, together with a translation.[2] John Chapman to return in the *Eagle*. (*Copy*. 5¾ *pp*.)

THE COMPANY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE, FEBRUARY 20, 1654 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 236).

Dispatch of the *Eagle*. Further deficiencies in bales from Bengal; order that the practice be resumed of putting into each bale a ticket signed by the factor responsible for the packing. All the piece-goods received by the *Love* have been sold; but there is still a large stock of 'moorees' on hand. The quicksilver sent out was correctly invoiced. The request for presents has been noted. Intend to dispatch to the Coast a ship of about 200 tons, with a stock not exceeding 1,000*l*. Baker may return in her, if he has not already arranged to come home in the *Eagle*. Note that the Company's letter and present to the Nawāb [see p. 133] met with a seemingly friendly reception. Their promise in that letter that his goods should have preference was not intended to cover any concession in

[1] Hieronimus van Beverning.

[2] This is entered at p. 241 of the same volume. In it the ambassador (the Conde de Peneguião) desires that, as peace between Portugal and England is 'upon the point of conclusion', the English ships now about to depart may be admitted into Portuguese harbours and treated with friendship and respect, no higher customs being exacted from them than they would have to pay at Surat or other Indian ports.

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the rate of freight, but, as the factors have agreed to his request ('or rather his command'), nothing can now be done; should, however, an opportunity occur of making him pay the usual rate, they see no reason why this should not be attempted. Approve the resolution not to take up money in future at so high a rate as 15 per cent. per annum. Wish that all the stock at Bantam could have been withdrawn to Fort St. George. Trust that no harm has resulted to the Company's estate and factors from the war with the Dutch. Payment has been duly made to William Cokayne and William Ashwell of the two bills of exchange; and the rings, &c., have been handed over to the father of the late Christopher Perrott. Note what is said about James Bridgman. Regret the ill-treatment of Jeremy Crew by the Governor of Japara; Crew should be transferred to the Coast, out of consideration for his health. Complaints against Frederick Skinner, whom Baker left as Agent at Bantam; also of faulty invoicing at that place. Have perused the papers delivered by Venkata and Kānappa, and the replies made thereunto. As for William Winter, since he has now returned to England, the matter will be examined here; but with regard to the others the President and Council are to make full investigations and send home the results, that the persons concerned may be dealt with when they appear. The small cabinet forwarded by Baker has been transmitted to his daughter at Exeter, and his private letters have been delivered. Great loss of weight in the *Love's* pepper, for which it is difficult to account. Presents for the kings of Jambi and Bantam will be sent by the next ship. Negotiations for peace with Holland. A small vessel, called the *Alum* frigate, is being prepared by some interlopers for a voyage to Bengal &c., and possibly others may follow. Any servant of the Company rendering the least assistance to such men will be instantly dismissed and damages required from him. Are surprised to learn that a factory has been started in Camboja, apparently for the purpose of buying benzoin: but the stock recently sent home of this commodity was enough to last Europe for five or six years, and, finding no sale for it, they have been forced to divide it among the adventurers. Regret that their stock should be employed in this wasteful manner. (*Copy.* 3¼ *pp.*)

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MESSRS. YOUNG, PARK, AND OTGHER AT GOMBROON TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 21, 1654 (*O.C.* 2366).

Explain the delay in forwarding the enclosed packet from Surat. Forward copies of correspondence with that place and Ispahān, which will fully inform the Company of the state of affairs here. Have not yet succeeded in selling the *Mayflower*. Disposal of certain piece-goods. The new Shāhbandar (who has been appointed for three years) appears to be well disposed towards them; suggest the dispatch of certain articles for presentation to him and to others. A junk lately arrived from Surat brought news that five Dutch ships had sailed in search of the English vessels; but it is hoped that the latter will be able to hold their own. Three days ago the Dutch sent out a ship from this port, probably to search junks; two more are still here. It is reported that a Portuguese frigate near Surat River has captured a Dutch India-built boat wherein the Commissary was taking his pleasure.[1] Nothing has been heard concerning Spiller's success at court. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, FEBRUARY 21, 1654 (*O.C.* 2366).

Another packet having arrived from Surat, the bearer is sent to overtake the messenger dispatched this morning. Have now sold the *Mayflower* for 80 tūmāns. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND EDWARD PEARCE AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS IN PERSIA, FEBRUARY 27, 1654 (*O.C.* 2362).

The junk carrying their letter of the 14th has not yet sailed; so they now advise that they have drawn bills on them for 1,075 tūmāns. Wish that means could be found for remitting the rest safely to India. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

HENRY GREENHILL'S REMONSTRANCE TO PRESIDENT BAKER CONCERNING THE TWO BRAHMANS, MARCH 1, 1654 (*O.C.* 2367).

In his answer to the Brahmans' articles against him, dated January 2, 1653, and in the charges brought by Gurney and himself

[1] The *Maagd van Dort* was captured off Swally by five Portuguese frigates, after a stout resistance. The Commissary was not on board, but the Fiscaal Joannes Grevenraadt was one of the thirteen prisoners taken.

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against William Winter of November 25 preceding, he partly described the plots of Venkata and Kānappa and desired justice; but the matter was 'huddled up' and no mention made of it in the letter sent to the Company per the *Love*, though Winter went home in her. Nor were the Brahmans called to account, but on the contrary were favoured and upheld, or excused in their complots, though these 'tended to the Honourable Companies exceeding damage, in the threatned destruction of this towne, sowing divisions among the casts, hiding the agreement which should have decided the difference . . . putting all in such confusion that both parties in mutuall hatred deserted the towne by turnes, wherof one is not yett returned, with their indeavoring to subvert the Companies free trade here by inciting the Nabob to monopolize it'. Now Greenhill desires to bring to notice 'some more of their latter acted villanies', in the hope that something will yet be done in the matter. 1. Venkata has not only failed to bring in within the time promised the goods listed as due from him to the Company, but has actually sold some of them to the Nawāb's servants. 2. He has abused and intrigued against other merchants, accusing them to the Nawāb of selling cloth very cheap here. 3. He and his brother have assisted the Nawāb's officers, here and at San Thomé, in invading the privileges of this place, 'soe as our people can scarce peepe out of towne, either to carry out or bring in ought (though necessaryes only), but the junkaneers[1] are on their backs, takeing sometimes 3, 4, 5 or more fanams upon a pagoda, as they please; being more vexed within a Jentue league of this place then in all the countrey over besides. . . Alsoe new customes are imposed on provisions, contrary to our priviledges, and noe remedy opposed thereunto.' The damage thus caused will far outweigh the small profit resulting. 4. The Brahmans were equal sharers, if not principal actors, in the abuses for which Rudriga and Timmanna were fined, yet they were not in any way punished. 5. When Leigh and Martin were ordered 'to take their weekely turnes at Choutry to oversee affaires there', Kānappa was appointed to assist them, in regard of his long experience. Soon after, he was accused of taking a bribe to connive at the stealing of children in the country and selling them, after registration in the Choultry, to the Dutch brokers of Pulicat; but this

[1] Customs-officers (from *chungam*, a toll).

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was hushed up. He then became so domineering that he 'drub'd one before the Choutry' without Leigh's knowledge or consent; yet nothing was said. 6. 'When the Chittees, with the rest of that cast, sent messengers in January last to treat about their returne to towne', Venkata, though nominally a prisoner in the Fort, went out and discoursed with the messengers before they saw the President; and the failure of the negotiations, though Baker and others went in person to accommodate the differences, was probably due to his interference. 7. The Brahmans have persistently delayed the discharge of their liability to the Company, inventing various pretexts for the purpose. A little while back they acknowledged that their charges against Greenhill were false, and then they were very submissive; but now again they are exalted with pride, giving out that they will soon be set free and Kānappa reinstated in 'his old Adigarship'.[1] Finally, Greenhill demands, in the name of the Company, that the Brahmans be brought to justice. *P.S.* (*March* 2) —Adds a declaration by the 'painters' concerning the Brahmans. (*Copy.* $5\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

CHARGES AGAINST THE BRAHMANS[2] (*O.C.*. 2542).

1. At the Brahmans' first arrival they were entertained to write letters and serve as linguists; but Ivy promoted them to be merchants and entrusted them with money to be delivered to the weavers &c. Thereupon they required the 'taliars' [*see* p. 243 *n.*] to guarantee that no workman should run away in the Company's debt. This the 'taliars' refused, alleging that they were only liable to make good whatever was stolen between sunset and sunrise. Then the Brahmans induced Ivy to turn out the 'taliars', and after a time their house was pulled down and their property confiscated. This quarrel was the occasion of the death of three Englishmen.

[1] The Governor of the town was termed the Adigar (Tamil *adhikāri*, 'one having authority'.)

[2] Preferred by 'the painters, weavers, &c. inhabiting Chanapatam' (Madras). The document, which is undated, was apparently the one mentioned in the preceding letter from Greenhill, who has prefixed copies of two requests from the petitioners to him, praying his assistance, and of an application from Rāga Pattan, the Town Conicoply, or Accountant, to President Baker for an investigation. The presentation of the document seems to have been delayed, for in *O.C.* 2466 Greenhill says that he handed it to Baker on Dec. 12, 1654.

Extracts have been printed in Love's *Vestiges* (vol. i. p. 146).

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2. The Brahmans persuaded Ivy 'to cause a drume to bee beaten that none should bee soe hardie as to sell a piece of cloth made in the towne unto any Englishman or to transport any to St. Thome or Pullecatt, but that the Company should have all to themselves; and at beating ditto drum proclaimed all power in the towne from thenceforeth to bee derived from the Company'. Nevertheless, the Brahmans took bribes to allow cloth to be carried to San Thomé and Pulicat. They also intrigued against the Company's control and endeavoured 'to crowne Mallapa [Mallappa], the Nabobs servant, with that power, if he would have acted with them'; but he refused to allow himself to be thus embroiled with the English. This led them to project his removal, hoping to find his successor more pliable; but he too refused to listen to them. 3. The Brahmans sent men to burn the houses of a group of families who had taken refuge in the town; and they shared the plunder, which was to the value of nearly 200 pagodas. 4. 'At the Nabobs approach neere this place Vincaty was sent to procure a cowle for the Companies affaires; when the Nabob required that the Braminee should give in a copie of the conditions, and what the Jentue King allowed hee would confirme the same. The Braminee, as seemed best for his turne, gave in a copie wherein hee put in some new things and left out others, and at the Nabob[s] request promised that hee should have a brass gunn. Soe hee came from the Nabob, and the Nabob presently sent some of his servants for the gunn to Vincaty, whoe carryed them to Agent Ivie as imediately from the Nabob to request him for a brass gunn. But Mr. Ivie denyed the gunn, shewing himselfe angry, which gave the Braminee advantage to send the said servants away without the gunn; whereat the Nabob was very much vexed and sent for the Braminee and Ragabattanda [Rāga Pattan: *see* p. 236 *n.*], the Towne connacaphila. But the Braminee thrust himselfe into the Fort, and prevailed with Mr. Ivie that onely the connacaphila was sent; with whom the Nabob dealt roughly and required a copie of the particulers of customes; whoe, not knowing what the Braminees had written, gave in a true coppie, at sight wherof the Nabob was very angry and againe sent for Vincaty, whoe, to pass that storme, gott Mr. Ivie to imprison him as for 4 or 5,000 pagodas, saying hee expected noething but death if hee should bee sent. And afterwards, by promise of the brass gunn, the

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Nabob was appeased.'[1] 5. Kānappa several times went at night into the houses of inhabitants and abused their wives. 6. 'The Nabob approaching neer Pullecatt, the Dutch went to meete him to confirme their imunities, and procured 2,000 pagodas yearely gratis more then ever they had. Alsoe the Portugalls at their first vissit obtained of him 360 rials annually more then the Jentues allowed them.' Had not Venkata neglected the interests of the Company, he might in like manner have obtained for them a large gratification, sufficient to defray the cost of the garrison. 7. When the Nawāb invaded these parts, two servants of 'Ballabala Cawne', who were in charge of Punamallee, took refuge with their treasure in Madras, and besought Seshādri to obtain for them Ivy's protection. He agreed to do this, if they would make a suitable return to the Company; but Venkata interposed and, taking a bribe himself, procured permission for them to remain without any payment to the Company. After their departure they sent a man to dig up some money they had buried in the Brahmans' yard; part of this was appropriated by the Brahmans. 8. Venkata and his brother have for seven years past received bribes for the sale of stolen people. 9. They have 'rented gameing' in the town to their own profit. 10. When in the time of famine many persons flocked hither, the Brahmans bought grain by a great 'parra' [*see* p. 259] of their own devising and sold it by 'a small or just parra'. This made the port unpopular, some of the vessels not making half their freight, which is by custom 20 per cent. 11. 'The Braminees being Linguists in the Fort, Governours of the Towne, and haveing the Taliars office', one was always at the Fort and allowed nobody to speak to the Agent direct; and 'by reason of the influence of one office to another', the inhabitants were afraid to make complaints. 12. The Brahmans set the chief 'painters' at variance and thus got control themselves. 13. Similarly, Venkata 'procured a difference amongst the Cooly Painters, and by some of his creatures obtained their principallities, and was alsoe then made Samiam Mantre,[2] which is the highest stile, for the Right Hand receaves the first tashereefe[3] and bettle [betel] on all occasions, and three or four fannams

[1] See the introduction to the previous volume, p. xxviii.

[2] Tamil *samyam-manthiri*, minister of the faith.

[3] *Tashrīf*, a complimentary offering.

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for each wedding'. The 'painters' were entirely subject to him, as appears from his treatment of two of them, who, on 'disaffecting', were, with the concurrence of the rest, beaten and their house pulled down. 14. Seshādri, in Ivy's time, 'procured to make a Paddy Bazar'; but Venkata drove away the sellers and 'sold the place for 16 pagodas', which he kept. 15. He also appropriated part of the Company's rice received from Surat. 16. The Brahmans, to gain the Nawāb's favour, undertook to provide him with 'paintings at the best hand'. Venkata told the 'painters' and others that he was the Nawāb's servant at six pagodas per month, and would give them much employment, selling the result to the Company at 50 per cent. profit for the Nawāb. He informed the latter of the Company's affairs and undertook to procure him a share in the Company's adventure; 'which not performeing, the Nabob was angry. The Braminee wrote more untruthes to appease him; which not takeing, made his braggs that hee looked for Verawassante Rayle[1] and within two months the Nabob must run away; on confidence whereof hee waged and lost 100 rials.' 17. 'In this towne, before the Pagod Permall,[2] the Bramines caused a little pagod to bee built, and procured a sorcerer or witch, whome they kept heere two months and learnd his art; by whose charmes and spells done upon a brass plate, which they buried under the stone idoll in the little pagod, like accions are said to be done to obtaine the affections of governours, abase and destroy or hinder the proceedings of adversaries.' Affirm that the Brahmans had determined the destruction of the town; 'and such actions in these parts are punished with death.' 18. Whenever complaints were intended, the Brahmans called the 'painters' to their house, feasted them with rice and milk, and made them swear to prevent such complaints. 19. They procured the dismissal of 'Mallapa, the Nabobs late servant in the Choutry, whoe carried himselfe very well towards the Company and townes people', by accusing him to the Nawāb 'for about 700 pagodas, most part falce'. His successor is therefore afraid to favour the Company. 20. The Brahmans, at the wedding of their 'connacaphila', tried to bring a 'pallenkeene' into 'the Berewars streete'. This the

[1] Vīravasanthi Rāyalu. Can this be another name for Srī Ranga?

[2] The Kesava Perumāl temple.

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'Berewar' prevented, and were in consequence imprisoned in the Fort. When the dispute was heard, the 'Berewar' pleaded that the street had been allotted to them by a certain deed [*see* p. 253]; 'but the Braminy Connapa laid downe his shash [i. e. turban] before the Agent etc. for 1,200 pagodas and 12 heads that there was noe such paper.' The 'Berewar' were afraid to take up this challenge, and so were fined 300 pagodas. After Baker's arrival the Brahmans produced the said paper and 'joyn'd with the Berewar and made the distinction of Right and Left Hand, which hath beene noe small disturbance in the towne'. Finding that he was likely to lose his house, one of the Brahmans prevailed on a section of the painters to quit the town, hoping that this would bring about the restoration of his dwelling. 21. 'After the painters came to towne againe, Nagabattanda, being in the Braminees house, at his ceremony ringing his bell, the Braminee dayly said to the Painters that twas their dishonour that a goldsmith should bee in that house, and that [they] rather ought to pull it downe and cut of his haire.' 22. On a difference occurring with the 'painters', Venkata said he would no longer remain in their street; he then removed to the 'Berewar streete and was their councellor to goe to the campe, as they did'. 23. Finding that the 'Berewar' were not likely to get any support from the Nawāb, he forsook them and joined with the painters again, writing on their behalf to 'Damarla Vincaty Nague',[1] to 'Topack Kistna',[2] to 'the merchant for the Right Hand in the Campe Bazar', to 'the principall Paryars[3] by the Nabob', and to 'Hodgee Rayrow' [Harigi Rai Rao?]. 24. Kanappa confiscated a quantity of rice unjustly, defrauding the 'Castillian'[4] who brought it for sale. 25. Some years ago, at the sale of the Company's coral, 'the Braminee, knowing the dachin[5] to afford an overplus', shared the resulting profit with the buyers. Rāga Pattan charged him with this before the President, 'and tooke up the Braminees gage, therby obliginge

[1] Damarla Venkatappa, after his dismissal by Srī Ranga, had joined Mīr Jumla.

[2] Tupāki Krishnappa Nāyak, afterwards referred to as the Nawāb's general.

[3] This well-known term for low-caste people was originally derived from Tamil *paraiyar*, 'drum-beaters'. These belonged to the Right Hand caste.

[4] Probably *castiço* (the Portuguese term for children born in India of Portuguese parents) is intended.

[5] An old term for a steelyard or balance. It is believed to be of Chinese origin.

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himselfe to prove the same. In this country, upon waging and accepteing of such a gage noe time is neglected till it bee desided.' 26. At the beginning of the famine Ivy gave Rāga Pattan a 'cowle', and charged him to keep a just account for the satisfaction of the Company and the Nawāb; this 'cowle' the Brahmans often demanded of him, but he refused to give it up unless they would pay 2,000 pagodas to the Company and furnish him with a paper to save him harmless. 27. They thereupon did their best to ruin him, 'whoe was the founder of this place, takeing great paines therein, hopeing thereby to obtaine a mainetenance'.[1] 28. 'The Braminee' seized the belongings of a man who ran away in debt to Seshādri but not to them. 29. Venkata procured the appointment of his kinsman 'Surwa Raz' as 'Adigar'. A few months later these two fell out, and 'Surwa Raz' threatened to accuse Venkata of some misdemeanours; 'but tis reported that they poysoned him or murdered him with witchcraft, for soone after hee dyed suddainely'. They then dealt with his estate as they pleased. 30. 'The Braminee Vincaty at first gave the Nabob under his hand that all English inhabitants were custome free of landing etc., and such cloth as was made into paintings in the towne was custome free;' yet it is believed that he has taken money from several persons on the latter account, and as for the former, when he and his brother were 'thrust out of the Choutry', they gave the Nawāb's servant 'Mallapa' an account of '30,000 pagodas to bee customed'. 31. At the time of the famine an inhabitant of San Thomé brought a copper idol to sell, which he had stolen out of a Pagoda there; but the Brahmans terrified him into parting with the idol, sold it, and kept the money. 32. They set the 'caingaloone [*see* p. 258] weavers' at variance and took away their accounts, returning them a year later with several leaves missing. 33. In Ivy's time they made a garden, and begged a piece of ground for their gardener. On Ivy making the grant, they took several pieces belonging to others, giving the owners larger plots elsewhere. 34. The Brahmans 'have in their heads

[1] From the documents printed by Col. Love, there seems to be no doubt that Rāga Pattan had been promised by Ayappa Nāyak that, if he could induce the English to remove from Armagon to Madraspatam, he should be given the post of Conicoply, and this appointment was afterwards confirmed by Cogan and Day.

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and about their body so many sorts of charmes, spells, rootes, and other witchcrafts, whereby they indeavour to stopp the mouthes of any that speake against them or take of the edge of anger from those that may have power to punish them'. 35. In Ivy's time Venkata forged a bill in Seshādri's name and obtained payment out of the Company's cash. He persuaded Seshādri to refrain from informing Ivy of this, and promised to make satisfaction, but he has not yet done so. 36. Ivy gave Venkata a ring to return to Seshādri; this he retained, and he has it still. 37. He embezzled a parcel of 'chay'[1] belonging to Seshādri. 38. By an intrigue he induced Ivy to imprison a dealer unjustly. 39. On being asked how he and his brother would clear themselves on Baker's arrival, Venkata answered that when the President 'had drunck of this towne water ten daies, hee would soe tame him that hee would play with his eare'. 40. Several deserted houses belonging to the Company were sold by the Brahmans and the proceeds retained. 41. 'At the painters removeall from the lower grounds', the Brahmans frightened several persons living 'in the upper grounds' into disposing of their houses; others, who bribed them, were left undisturbed. 42. They exacted duties on cloth from certain men. 43. They induced Ivy to appoint a 'measurer', but afterwards by a trick persuaded the latter to surrender his 'cowle'; whereupon they took themselves the dues, exacting four times as much as they ought. A few months ago they sold the 'cowle' to the original owner for a small sum. 44. They thrust one of the 'mooree weavers' out of a house and installed a dependant therein. 45. Venkata declared that he would not leave the place 'untill hee had spoyled the Fort and burnt the towne, and would carry of the ashes in his cloute'. 46, 47, 48. The Brahmans forced opium and other goods on the inhabitants. 49. Though Ivy and Greenhill had promised 'the Mambaloone painters' [*see the previous volume*, p. 52] 'that, if they would bring in their cloth unto the Fort, that none should dare to exact any targo[2] of them', the Brahmans secretly induced them to pay a percentage. 50. They produced a bill in the names of

[1] Indian Madder (*Oldenlandia Umbellata*). The root-bark was much used for producing a red dye.

[2] Tamil *tharagu*, 'brokerage'. The 'jargo' of the 1637–41 volume (p. 69) is probably an error for the same word.

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the weavers, and, when the latter disowned it, paid the amount themselves. 51. When the President first arrived, a number of charges were preferred against the Brahmans. These have now been amplified into the above, but many small exactions have been omitted. (*Unsigned.* 11 *pp.*)

ENCLOSURE.

Particulars of the Brahmans' exactions, &c.[1] 'Paddy' seized in 'Peddy Nagues'[2] howse or taken from his 'free grounds in the village', or from the dues payable to him by the fishermen. Gain by a partnership with the 'Juncaneer' in speculations in rice. Exaction of customs on cloth 'painted' in the towne. 'Renting the playing at dice.' 'Chitts [permits] given for stolen people.' 'The measurers were allowed out of each $\frac{1}{8}$ of a garce[3] a handfull of all the graine they measured'; but the Brahmans turned them out and took what they pleased. Exactions from 'the wooloone weavers', the coral merchants, the traders in rice, &c. The Brahmans received 1,420 pagodas as dues for 'the taliars, the Pagod, and the Scrivan', out of which 'they made the Choutry for 200 pagodas'. They took the goods from a Tranquebar 'champan'[4] that had stranded here. They incited their watchmen to rob several families in 'the village without the towne'. 'At the time of Iyapa Nagues[5] leaveing the towne to the Nabob', they appropriated 64 pagodas left 'in the box'; also an oil mill belonging to the Nāyak. They forced money from the coiners, the arrack distillers, and the inhabitants generally. They exacted a sum of money 'towards the building a mudd wall about the towne', of which they spent only a portion for that purpose. 'The Bramine by being Samiamantre [*see* p. 238] gott from the townes people 100 pagodas.' They got an equal profit from land they took for their gardener's wages. Exactions from 'the washers' and from 'the shepheard that served the Fort with cattle'. Frauds on the 'painters' and

[1] Only the more important items have been noticed. The amounts have also been omitted.

[2] The Pedda Nāyak was the hereditary head of the *talliars* or watchmen, and was remunerated by the grant of free land (called Peddanāyakpetta, now part of Georgetown) and by certain petty dues, payable in kind.

[3] A measure used for rice, grain, &c.

[4] A small vessel (*sampan*).

[5] Ayappa Nāyak.

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weavers. Sums due by them to Seshādri. Miscellaneous exactions. ($6\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

JOHN LEIGH'S DECLARATION AGAINST KĀNAPPA [MARCH, 1654] (*O.C.* 2369).[1]

He has taken many bribes in licensing stolen children in this town, to the dishonour of the Company and the shame of 'the Governor and Councell[2] here'. Those guilty of this offence dare not take the children to Pulicat or San Thomé; but in the English town no difficulty is made. 'The custome is 18*d.*, and the Nabob hath 9*d.* of it.' Inveighs against the cruelty of the practice. 'These people have as much right to theire childeren and love to them as wee, and therefore ought to have justice on the traters or the manstealers or depeoplers of the countery.' Demands that steps be taken to dissociate the Company from such actions. If Kānappa be sent to the 'Choutery', Leigh will take such a course as will prevent further mischief. Alike in Europe, Turkey, and this country the punishment for such an offence is death; and the same 'by the law of God'. Leigh further declares that the President allowed the Brahmans to procure false witnesses against the Agent and him. ($\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

MESSRS. YOUNG, PARK, AND OTGHER AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 4, 1654 (*O.C.* 2368).

On February 21 they received the Surat letter of January 18, together with a packet for the Company, which was at once dispatched. Now advise what has happened since they wrote on February 23. Silk sent in the *Welcome*. Cannot procure bills of exchange for their money on suitable terms. Will do their best to gather in the estate of the Bengal factors. The *Mayflower* has been sold, and Beard has gone to Ormus to hand her over. The indigo and the China roots are still on hand. Though the house provisions for Surat were lost in the *Falcon*, they dare not venture a second supply in any junk; but 'Gechand' is bringing them a box of garden seeds. He had intended to go to Surat in a junk, but since the arrival of the new Governor he and other Banyans have been much taxed and troubled by that functionary, and so he was forced to

[1] Printed in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (vol. i. p. 131).

[2] An early anticipation of a familiar title.

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change his plans. Now, however, fearing fresh exactions, especially 'at the time of a new roce [*Naurōz*, the festival of the New Year], aboute 5 or 6 dayes hence, which otherwise will cost him not lesse then 100 or 150 tomands', he has solicited leave to go in the Dutch *Leeuw*, and this they have granted. Praise his diligence and ability, and desire that he may be well treated, as they are likely to need his assistance later. This letter has been entrusted to his care, hidden in 'an oyle bamboo'[1]. No doubt the loss of the *Endeavour* and *Falcon* is already known at Surat; trust that the other ships have reached Diu. Send an account [*missing*] of the fight, received from the prisoners on board the *Sluis*. The Dutch brought twenty of the prisoners hither on February 24. Two have since made their escape. Clothes are being supplied to the rest. Send an account of money advanced to the crew of the *Endeavour*. The Dutch have heard from Aleppo of another great fight last October, but, as they do not brag of success, it is probable that the English were victorious. Blame Daniel for sending on to Spiller the packet from the Company, without opening and copying its contents. Have heard nothing from Spiller. Any further letters should be sent in their absence to the care of 'Tackorsee', their broker. *PS.*—Two more of the prisoners have made their escape. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

JOHN LEIGH AT FORT ST GEORGE TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 20, 1654 (*O.C.* 2370).[2]

The enclosed papers will explain why he has taken the unusual course of addressing them direct. Baker, after his arrival, summoned Yardley, Edward Winter, and Leigh to consult about the differences between Greenhill and 'two Bramonies, the one the Governor and Justice of this towne of Madrass,[3] the other the cheefe for buying goods of all sorts in these parts for the Honourable Company'. There was also a dispute with William Winter about the expenses of repairing the *Dove*; the issue of this will be found in the books, to which Leigh has no access. The Brahmans charged Greenhill and Gurney with shipping certain goods in private trade; on

[1] Sections of bamboo, cut off below a joint and provided with a stopper, were generally used as receptacles for oil, paint, &c.

[2] Printed (in part) in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (vol. i. p. 131).

[3] This early use of the shortened form should be noted.

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examination, however, it was found that Gurney was at Bantam at the time. Other charges on investigation turned out to be baseless; and then Leigh urged that steps should be taken to recover the debt due from Venkata. To this Baker answered that the Brahman had much money owing to him and must be assisted to get his money from the 'painters'. The Agent then said that, if Venkata were made over to him, he would undertake to pay whatever was due. This offer was repeated later, in the presence of Captain Martin, though probably the latter will not avow as much, for he is the President's creature. Afterwards there was a consultation held concerning 'those servants which had received by the by moneys of the Companies weavors and painters'. The two peons, Rudriga and Timmanna, were fined 1,500 new pagodas, and the same punishment would have been inflicted upon Venkata and Kānappa (who had shared the plunder with the peons), but the President interposed, representing that it would be unwise to degrade Venkata until he had discharged his debt to the Company. The peons were imprisoned until they paid the fine; and Leigh then proposed that the same course should be taken with the two Brahmans. Baker said that he would be answerable for Venkata, though he now explains that he merely 'gave his word for his personall appearance'. On the Agent's return from Pegu the question was again raised, and Greenhill reminded Baker of his former offer; the latter replied that he might take the 'Bramoney', but Greenhill said it was now useless, as Venkata had conveyed away his estate. On February 15 the President 'came blustering' to the house of John Gurney, Greenhill's son-in-law, where Yates and Leigh were, and asked what should be done with the 'painters', who were at that time imprisoned 'in the Choutery'. Leigh answered that Baker had given his word for the Brahman's debt, whereupon Baker called him a lying old knave. Greenhill then said that he would pay the debt of the 'painters' if Baker would pay the other; 'which he could not then but accept for shame.' The two Brahmans are now under confinement in the Fort, though they are permitted to go to dinner and supper under charge of a soldier, and the President has since allowed them one of the Company's servants to write out their accounts. Understands that Baker is charging Greenhill with private trade or something else; but Leigh does not fear to meet

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any accusations against himself. Protests that, in opposing the President, he has only acted in obedience to his conscience; 'I did not come heather to goe to the Divell for none of theire Worships.' Refers for other matters to his answer to the President's protest. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

WILLIAM NOKE, ABOARD THE *DOVE* IN SURAT RIVER, TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 21, 1654 (*O.C.* 2371).

Will say nothing about his unhappy experiences; nor will he complain of the attitude taken up by the Company. Finding the latter displeased with him, he has resolved to leave his ship and return to England overland. Trusts that the President and Council will bear witness that he has not in any way prejudiced the Company's interests out here; also that they will assist the master to govern some 'disordered spirites' aboard the vessel. Their small stock is nearly exhausted, but he knows it will be useless to ask for a supply until it is due according to the charterparty. Has instructed Henry Tyrrell to prevent all unlicensed private trade. (*Copy.* 2¼ *pp.*)

LIST OF ENGLISH PRISONERS SENT FROM BATAVIA TO HOLLAND (*O.C.* 2373).

[The list, which is dated only 1653, specifies the ships in which the prisoners were sent. It contains 33 names, including Christopher Oxenden, Adam Lee, Robert Tyndall, Robert Bailey, William Broadbent, Edward Alsopp, and Stephen Flowers.[1]] (1 *p.*)

COMPLAINT BY HENRY GREENHILL TO PRESIDENT BAKER AGAINST JAMES MARTIN, MARCH 27, 1654 (*O.C.* 2374).[2]

Need not repeat former charges against Martin, for which he was under restraint at the time of Baker's arrival. Upon public submission and promise of amendment, he was then set free and restored to his command of the garrison, but soon recommenced his evil

[1] He had been appointed purser's mate of the *Blessing* in January, 1651. Later on we hear of him as the Company's Agent at Gombroon.

The prisoners were doubtless set free at the conclusion of peace. Several of them were back in England by the autumn of 1654 (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54).

[2] Printed (in part) in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (vol. i. p. 132). In a later letter (*O.C.* 2466), forwarding this document, Greenhill says that it 'was not delivered in, beeing prevented by Mr. Leigh, that gave in another'.

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behaviour. He sent for the sergeant, James Marden, and gave orders that the soldiers should slight Greenhill when he passed the guards, though he denied the fact until confronted with Marden. Believes the report that Martin had been bribed by the Brahmans to assist them, as only this will account for his impudent intervention on their behalf. Martin was not then a member of the Council, though afterwards, while Greenhill was on his Pegu voyage, he was 'shuffled in', apparently 'to strengthen a faction and enable him to doe more mischeife'. He is of no use in the Company's business, and his military ability may well be questioned. Martin is accustomed to maintain evil and blasphemous doctrines in religion, and has endeavoured to diffuse them among the soldiers; on one occasion he was reproved for the same by their minister, Mr. Thompson, whom he has since reviled and insulted. He has likewise abused the Company and vilified their chief servants in India, not sparing Baker himself. He has sought to exasperate the latter against all who thwart his own designs, as happened when he was foiled by Greenhill in his attempt to obtain the marriage of Baker's servant to the younger daughter of Richard Potter, immediately after her father's death. He has violated the standing orders by sending a challenge to Edward Whiting, the surgeon; and this has emboldened some of his subordinates to do the like. When Thomas Price, a carpenter, applied for justice against Martin, the latter beat him in Baker's presence. In spite of his ill-deportment, the Captain is 'better provided for extraordinaries on our masters score then any three of us that were heer before your arriveall'; but the fact is that he has gained such an ascendancy over the President that 'whosoever displeaseth him shall assuredly be out of your favour'. Cites instances of Martin's wild and blasphemous talk, and offers to give further evidence if called upon. He is 'an incendiary and a factious person', and has endeavoured to seduce men to his party with large promises of preferment. Demands that Martin be called upon to answer these charges in writing, and meanwhile be suspended from all his offices. ($3\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

JOHN LEIGH AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO PRESIDENT BAKER, MARCH 27, 1654 (*O.C.* 2375).

Demands that Martin be removed from his command, as an

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enemy to God, the Parliament, and the Company, all which Leigh undertakes to prove. Urges further that he be kept in confinement to prevent his doing further mischief, and that some more honest and worthy man be placed in charge of the garrison. (1¼ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND MESSRS. PEARCE AND GARY AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 28, 1654 (*O.C.* 2376).[1]

Regret to be still the messengers of evil tidings. On the *Falcon* reaching Diu, she found the *Welcome* and *Dove* being trimmed and consequently not ready to sail. Moreover, their men showed unwillingness to proceed on the voyage, especially those of the *Dove*, 'sayeing they came not forth to fight, for, if they had bein mynded soe to doe, they might have had fighteing worke enough at home'. At last, however, by the persuasions of Gary and Noke and the crews of the other ships, they were induced to consent, after seventeen days had been lost; though even then the *Dove*'s men would not weigh anchor, and this had to be done for them by some sent from the *Falcon*. In the Persian Gulf the fleet encountered two Dutch ships, and during the night engaged them for three or four hours. The Hollanders were of 30 and 24 guns, and were weakly manned; while the *Welcome* had 32, the *Falcon* 26, and the *Dove* 24. Notwithstanding this superiority, at daybreak they left the enemy and made for Ormus to have the assistance of the *Endeavour*.[2] Meanwhile the Dutch ships anchored in Gombroon Road, where presently the English arrived also. After staying two days, the latter sailed for Sind, abstaining (in accordance with orders from Surat) from embarking the treasure. 'Comeing in sight of the roade of Sinde, there was rideing the five Dutch ships our last mentioned; who seing them, weighed and came of to them, and soone engaged them.[3] The Dutch admirall with the first broadside of the *Wellcome*, who

[1] For a list of the packet containing this letter (received overland April 2, 1655) see *O.C.* 2377.

[2] For a Dutch account of the engagement (which took place on January 8) see *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xix. no. 563. The same letter states that the English, after getting the *Endeavour* ready for sea, asked permission of the Persian authorities to attack the Dutch in the road, but this was refused.

[3] The fight took place on January 23. The Dutch fleet was commanded by Commissary Rickloff van Goens. For a brief Dutch account of the engagement see the letter referred to above.

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had brought 21 pieces ordnance on that side, was happily laid by the lee and did noe service all the fight after. The *Fallcon* as unhappily run stemlings on board hir, the said admirall, but was soone cleared of hir againe; when presently shee fell fowle of another Dutch shipp that lay asterne of the admirall, and by that meanes lost hir foremast. The *Fallcon* was entred by the Dutch out of this shipp, which was a laden shipp, inferrior to the *Fallcon* both in ordnance and nomber of men. They were aboard each other above an hower. The Dutch cleared themselves of the *Falcon*, not without considerable loss. And the *Falcon* being cleare of hir and all other shipps, a strange feare possest them that their shipp was on fire, and therefore would needs yeild hir upp to the enemye and shifft for themselves in their boats; which they did, and would not bee perswaded to the contrary, though some that they left aboard and abhorred soe cowardly an action endeavoured by all meanes they could. Above 60 able men, that had not received the least hurt in the world, run away in their boats, one of which boats went to the Dutch admirall as shee lay by the lee, and they would not take them in; soe were forced to row to another shipp. The other boate gott aboard the *Wellcome*, who how shee had bestowed hir tyme all this while of the *Falcons* encounter wee cannot learne, but onely she kept to windward and was unwilling to come helpe the *Falcon* when the Dutch was on board him, least in fireing at the one hee should hurt the other. Mr. Hargrave, with the boatswaine of the *Falcon*, and about ten well and wounded were left aboard the shipp; whome those that gott aboard the *Wellcome* desired they might bee fetcht off; which Mr. Walterrer was endeavoreing to doe, but his men would not suffer him to bare to leeward or send a boate, but thought they had done enough in preserveing themselves, and soe boare away after the *Dove*, who had the discreetion to keepe hirselfe out of harmes way after the first comeing up with the Dutch, being once gott out of shott, scarse came within reach of a gunn againe, but soe well preserved hirselfe that shee had not a man slayne or hurt. The *Wellcome* lost one and noe other hurt. The *Endeavor* did best of any of them; for shee, not goeing well by a wind, was soone putt to leeward of the Dutch, not haveing any to second hir, and was encountred by two of the second best shipps the Dutch had, with whome shee mayn-

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taned the fight till shee had received soe many shott under and betweene wind and water that shee was ready to sinke before shee surrendred; for the Dutch comeing aboard hir, before they could gett anything out of hir or their owne people againe, shee sunck downe, and with hir 10 English and 11 or 13 Dutch men, and all perished. But in this tyme they were gott above a league to leeward of the rest of the shipps; nor did those two shipps engage any shipp in the fight onely the *Endeavor*. Nor came they upp with the admirall againe till within night, who a little before had made saile againe and stood after them that were runing away as fast as they could; which, had not God taken away their harts, might in all probabillity have had the day of the Dutch, for they were alsoe very glad they were ridd of them, as wee were credibly informed by some that was on board them, and especially from Mounsire Tavernere, who in breife gives this relation: Never was fight worss mannaged on boath sides. The Dutch were most of them drunke and knew not what they did; the English, I thinke, were little better, if not worss. They would never elce have lost such an oppertunity. (Thus Mr. Taverneir.) All the night the Dutch lay driveing in the sea, and came not neare the *Falcon* or sent soe much as a boate on board hir, till the next day about ten in the morneing. The *Welcome* and *Dove* came for Suratt. Two of the Dutch shipps, with the *Falcon*, two days after arrived alsoe; the rest gon for Persia.' The English ships are now in the river, and the Dutch watch for them outside. It would be useless to venture them to sea 'unless our men had better resolutions'. The *Welcome* brought 40 bales of silk from Persia; it was unwise of the Gombroon factors to risk this consignment, but it is now safe here. The Dutch, on arriving at Surat, released such of the prisoners as were wounded, and also Hargrave, who was sick (but has since recovered); the rest they retain on board. Enclose lists of the latter, of the men released, and of those killed. Forward also letters from the Coast factors, to whom they recently remitted 5,000 rupees. Affairs in these parts remain in the same condition as when they last wrote. They cannot get the insurance money for the *Supply*; nor will the saltpetre at Ahmadābād be released without a heavy bribe to the Governor, which they have refused to give, as they see little prospect of sending the ships home this year. 'Besides, that Governour is now

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displaced and one of the Kings soones[1] appointed to succeed, from whome wee hope for better dealeings.' Further, they daily expect from Agra a royal *farmān*, ordering the release not only of the Ahmadābād saltpetre but also that stopped at Patna by the Governor there. Though such a *farmān* means an outlay at court, it is better to spend money thus than to bribe the local officials, who are never satisfied. The goods provided last year in Sind are still lying there; similarly, the pepper and cardamoms bought at Rājāpur have not been fetched. At Agra the usual investments are being made in piece-goods and indigo; but the purchase of other commodities requiring less time to provide has been deferred until news is received either of peace or of the dispatch of a strong fleet 'to fetch both them and us off'. If the trade be continued, some able men must be sent out to manage it, for most of those here, including Blackman and Pearce, desire to return. Another very necessary measure is to procure for the President authority to control all the Englishmen out here, 'for the power you now have extends noe further then those that are your servants, but here are those with us that calls themselves freemen, that are very pernitious in their actions to us, being companions to all such of our people as they find discontented, and not onely inveagle them from your service but helpe to convey them either to the Dutch or Moores, as they find them most inclyned. There hath noe less then seven or eight within these five months that by this meanes hath left your service.' The chief offender is Henry Barrett, whom some months since, 'for his unsufferable language against our State and nation', they imprisoned in the factory, intending to send him to England; but the Governor, at the instigation of the Dutch, 'forced him from us'. Have acquainted Noke with the Company's displeasure, 'of which hee is very censible'. Cannot find that his ship brought any private trade worth mentioning; while no quicksilver seems to have been on board, for the Company's stock has since been sold at 84 rupees per maund, which is a good advance on the previous price. Noke, seeing no chance of his ship returning this year, has decided to go home overland via Aleppo, having obtained from the Hollanders

[1] This was Murād Bakhsh, fourth son of Shāh Jahān. He replaced Shāistah Khān, who had been reappointed Viceroy of Gujarāt when Dārā Shikoh (Viceroy, 1648–52) was nominated to the command of the expedition against Kandahār (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i. p. 281).

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a pass for that purpose. There are now ten Dutch ships in these waters, and five or six more are expected from Batavia and Taiwan. They will leave sufficient here to blockade the *Dove* and the *Welcome*. Noke carries the present packet to Basra, whence he will send it on to Aleppo immediately. Enclose a letter from him [*see* p. 247], explaining his reasons for returning; and desire to add that while here he has behaved well in all respects and has done nothing (to their knowledge) to the prejudice of the Company, but on the contrary has always shown readiness to do them service. Have recently drawn from Persia over 6,800*l.* sterling by bills of exchange at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. loss, and would gladly have done more on these terms, could they have managed it. Trust that the Persia factors will find means to remit a further sum, to save paying interest here. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BAKER TO HENRY GREENHILL AT FORT ST. GEORGE, MARCH 29, 1654 (*O.C.* 2378).[1]

Noticing in Greenhill's remonstrance presented at the beginning of the month some passages reflecting on himself, he now proceeds to answer these, leaving the Brahmans to reply to the accusations brought against them. Denies that the charges made by Greenhill against William Winter and them were 'huddled up'. The consultations will show that these were investigated, and that Greenhill failed to establish his case. The only fault proved against Venkata was his detaining 'the writeing made in Mr. Ivies tyme about the streets', which he never denied. After the departure of the *Love*, the question of the dispute between the two castes was taken up, with the intention of calling Venkata to account for his share of the trouble; but the investigation was stopped by the broil caused by Seshādri, who, resenting a remark made by one of the Brahmans, raised his caste and plundered the houses of the Chettis, with the result that the latter forsook the town. Though a decision had necessarily to be postponed, this is not 'an acquitting of the cryme'; and Baker denies that he favours the Brahmans and their adherents 'further then as they have beene the Companies servants and prime merchants by yourselfe imployed'. The enmity shown against them is due to their having revealed a number of abuses committed

[1] Printed (in part) in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (vol. i. pp. 121, 133).

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by the factors; and, although they have not yet made good all their charges, Baker sees no reason to punish them, as desired by Greenhill and Leigh out of malice and revenge. As for their debts to the Company, Baker has done and is doing all he can to get in the money, but 'in an honest and legall way'. He has already recovered over 1,700 pagodas, whereas, had he used violence, not half that amount would have been obtained, as is shown by the fact that ever since Venkata was confined to the Fort, at Greenhill's suggestion, his debtors have paid him little or nothing. With regard to the charge that the Brahmans have concealed or conveyed away their estate, in order to cheat the Company, Baker will gladly hearken to any evidence that may be laid before him. Although nothing was said in the letter sent by the *Love*, copies of all the papers were duly sent home; so there has been no attempt to conceal the affair from the Company. Denies that Kānappa has invaded the Company's privileges in the matter of customs. It is true that 'the Nabobs Adigar hath strived tooth and nayle to bring in customs upon petty things sold here in the market, as beetle, herbes, etc.'; but in this he has been withstood both by Baker and Kānappa, and the former made repeated complaints to the Nawāb, who finally replied that 'such customes as were usually paid in the tyme of Ayapa Naigue and the Jentue Kings tyme must and should bee paid still'. In any case, such dues will not average more than sixpence a day, one half of which goes to the Nawāb and the other half to the Company; so the latter 'are rather gainers then loosers by it'. Greenhill's chief grievance seems to be that, when in February, 1653, his servants Timmanna and Rudriga were fined for exacting commission from the Company's merchants, the Brahmans (who, according to him, had shared in these unlawful gains) were not similarly amerced. To this Baker answers that, in the case of a conspiracy against the State, if one of the plotters repents and reveals the plan, it is customary to pardon him for his own share, while punishing the rest. Besides, it would have been of little use to inflict a fine upon the Brahmans, when they already owed the Company more than they are ever likely to pay while they remain prisoners. As for the other two offenders, they had so well feathered their nests as to be able to vapour it up and down in jewels and gold chains, with a long train of attendants. Rudriga was originally a poor man kept by some

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former agents 'only for a pympe or pander'; but now, thanks to Greenhill's favour, he is 'grown to such a height that lately hee durst come and tell mee to my face that hee would turne mee out of my place and come and sitt in my chayre ere longe and make mee wayte on him'. As for Timmanna, Greenhill himself heard in this hall 'how hee snapt mee up, as if I had beene a boy or a slave'. Baker has said enough for the present; but he intends to call a council to hear and determine the charges against the Brahmans. If, therefore, Greenhill has any further accusations to make, he should produce them at once. (*Copy.* 6¾ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BAKER'S ANSWER TO JOHN LEIGH, MARCH 29, 1654 (*O.C.* 2379).

Leigh's reply [*see* p. 230] is in no way satisfactory. Gurney might well take the responsibility of the debt of Rudriga and Timmanna, seeing that he had in his hands almost enough of their estate to pay it; but that was no reason why Baker should guarantee what was due from the Brahmans, when he had nothing of theirs in his power. Greenhill's offer about the latter debt was conditional upon the Brahmans being handed over to him to do what he pleased with them, and this would have been inequitable. The suggestion that no one dares to assist Leigh, for fear of offending Baker, is a mere calumny; while Leigh's pretended concern for the Company's interests comes badly from a man who has so much injured them, and has done his best to prevent Baker from detecting and punishing gross abuses. To show Leigh's ignorance of business, he is invited to come into the warehouse and demonstrate that he can unaided give the names, dimensions, and value of one half of the different sorts of cloth; or else to exhibit 'one pare of bookes' properly kept by him while employed at Petapoli. If he will do this, Baker will gladly admit himself mistaken. Meanwhile he will make it his daily prayer to be delivered 'from the envy, hatred, and malice, and from the most notorious uncharitableness of old John Leigh'. (*Copy.* 3½ *pp.*)

MESSRS. YOUNG, PARK, AND OTGHER AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 31, 1654 (*O.C.* 2381).

Have duly paid the bills of exchange drawn upon them, and trust

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that others are on their way, for they have little hopes otherwise of remitting the money lying here. Have not advised the Company of the loss of the *Falcon* and *Endeavour*, as they daily expect to have letters from Surat to forward. Enclose copies of letters from the Coast and Bengal, requesting the remission of the English share of the dues on the Nawāb's goods and a similar favour for some sugar belonging to the late Governor of Balasore, now *nākhudā* of a junk arrived from Bengal; both requests must be granted. Have paid Beard's wages and now forward his account. Particulars are sent of what has been supplied to the prisoners aboard the Dutch vessels. Forward a fresh supply of house provisions. The Basra broker has dispatched 1,000 rials of eight to Kung, which will be sold there. Enclose particulars of Joscelyn's estate. The 1652–53 accounts have been entrusted to a friend for delivery; fresh copies of those for 1651–52 will go by one of the junks. Complain of the insufferable abuses of the Shāhbandar, who not only keeps four or five customhouses besides that formerly called theirs, but has now denied their right to put their lock and seal on the latter. He seldom calls the English to sit with him in the customhouse, and indeed this would be of little use, for goods are carried openly to the other customhouses. Wharton, the English pilot of one of the Bengal junks, brought a small parcel of sugar to the English house, but the Shāhbandar took it away by force and deposited it in the customhouse. On the factors remonstrating, he declared that he had the King's order to open and seize English goods on the least suspicion and to keep them until he had ascertained the real owner. They asked him to put this into writing, but he refused. Further, he demands that they shall produce an invoice of Wharton's goods or else give a gratuity for clearing them. Both demands have been refused, though the Dutch have in a similar case yielded and given the Shāhbandar a present equivalent to the customs due on certain goods brought by a Dutchman who is pilot of Mīr Jumla's junk. The Shāhbandar has put other affronts on the English, and they fear that his object is to deprive them of all share in the customs. Their broker, on being sent to remonstrate about the seizure of Wharton's goods, was beaten and fined 25 tūmāns, the Shāhbandar declaring that he was not the factors' servant but his slave. On this they dismissed the broker, resolving

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to keep no servant who was not under their command; whereupon the Shāhbandar remitted the fine and the broker was reinstated. They find however, in consequence, that no one dares interpret for them anything likely to cause displeasure; so they are inclined to send Young to Ispahān to complain, unless Spiller directs otherwise. Though the Shāhbandar has ignored them in the customing of Mīr Jumla's goods, they will try to get from the *nākhudā* an acknowledgement that they have remitted their share of the dues; also a list of the goods, for the information of the Coast factors. The Shāhbandar's overbearing and unjust dealings are causing complaints on all hands, and there is a general tendency to forsake this port for others. So many junks went to Kung last year that the Portuguese received over 1,000 tūmāns as their share of the customs. (*Copy.* 5 *pp.*)

MESSRS. YOUNG, PARK, LITTLETON, AND OTGHER AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, APRIL 1, 1654 (*O.C.* 2382).

Forward letters received last evening from the Company, dated September 12. Are advising the Agent at Ispahān of the orders for the purchase of silk, and are trying to remit him 4,000 tūmāns for that purpose by exchange. It has been decided[1] that Young shall go to Ispahān to complain of the Shāhbandar, though the latter seems disposed to be more accommodating. From Basra they learn that the last packet for England was duly forwarded. Are now writing to the Company. Have just received three Surat letters dated in February; will reply soon. *P.S.*—Enclose certain accounts. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

CAPTAIN MARTIN'S ANSWER TO LEIGH'S CHARGES, FORT ST. GEORGE, APRIL 4, 1654 (*O.C.* 2380).

Desires that Leigh be ordered to bring in particulars, with the names of witnesses, of the various offences alleged. Demands that Leigh be dismissed the Company's service and imprisoned, 'to prevent his dangerous designes against the saftie of this place', by making a faction against the President. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

[1] At a consultation held the same day (*O.C.* 2383).

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LEIGH'S REJOINDER (*O.C.* 2380).[1]

Cites instances of Martin's blasphemy. As for his being an enemy to the Parliament, he said in Baker's chamber that, as the Presbyterians had taken away the King and Bishops, and the Independents had taken away the Presbyterians, he hoped the Devil would take away the Independents. He is stated to have railed against the Parliament and to have spoken slightingly of the Lord General Cromwell. With regard to the Company, he has termed them 'couckoulds', to their great disparagement. The above facts will be witnessed by the persons named. Threatens to carry the matter to 'the Lords Keepers of the Privilidges of England'. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

THE BRAHMANS' DECLARATION [APRIL 4, 1654[2]] (*O.C.* 2441).

1. In the dispute over [William] Gurney's accounts, they proved their case by appealing to his 'foull booke'; therefore Greenhill, Leigh, and John Gurney [as his executors?] are liable to answer to the Company. 2. They warned Greenhill not to trust Seshādri and Koneri Chetti; he ought therefore to pay to the Company what those men cannot. 3. Admit that they concealed the award [of Ivy] concerning the division of streets between the two parties, but this was because Seshādri and his adherents were in league with Greenhill. After Baker's arrival they procured a fresh award, to satisfy both sides; 'which to spoyle again', Seshādri and his faction 'sent the people out of towne'. For the resulting damages they ought to give satisfaction. 4 and 5. During Ivy's absence (with Venkata) at Armagon, Timmanna and Rudriga tried to persuade the 'mooree and cangaloone[3] weavers' to put themselves under Seshādri's protection, but only the former consented; 'upon which Sesadra made a broyle with causeing the mooree weavers to pass with burialls through the west gate.' On Venkata's return he managed to compose the dispute; but soon Seshādri 'made a new trouble, which

[1] This is dated March 31, but evidently it was subsequent to Martin's representations.

[2] The date is supplied from *O.C.* 2394. Col. Love has printed extracts from this paper in his *Vestiges of Old Madras* (vol. i. p. 140), with explanatory notes, some of which are here utilized.

[3] 'Moorees' were blue cloths. 'Cangaloone' (Malay *kain-gulong*) was a name for a kind of calico used for waist-cloths in the Far East.

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caused an arrest to bee put on both parties'. Greenhill, though often urged to do so, would not decide the quarrel. Efforts were also made to draw over the 'painters' to Seshādri's side. 6. A difference occurring between the 'painters' and a 'pallee',[1] at Greenhill's order the Brahmans procured a written agreement that 'the palleewarr [*palli vāru*] should goe with their weddings into any streete, only reserveing the Comitte [Komati] Streete for the Belgewars honour; which paper Sesadra spoyled', but the Agent ignored his action. 7. Greenhill is charged with deciding a certain suit unjustly. 8. And with wronging Kānappa in another dispute. 9. The Brahmans were deprived of the profit on an investment made by them for Seshādri. 10. Inquiry is suggested whether the Company received the gains made on rice brought from Tranquebar. 11. After Greenhill's arrival he asked the Brahmans why no 'Gingerlee' [*see* p. 263] vessels came hither, and was told that it was because those merchants had been abused by Rudriga and 'Surwa Raz' by 'makeing a falce parra'.[2] Rudriga, hearing of this, reviled Kānappa in the street and offered to strike him with his 'chereps' [Tamil *seruppu*] or wooden shoes. Complaint was made to Greenhill, but he refused to interfere. 12. Rudriga forced money from merchants and chastised them in his own house; the Agent, when told of this, 'made noe reckoning of it'. 13. Nor would he remedy certain abuses by Timmanna and Rudriga in their dealings in rice. 14. The inhabitants complaining of the exactions of those men for the purpose of building and maintaining pagodas, helping the pagoda of 'Trivelecane'[3] and marrying 'Bramines in their owne names', the Brahmans represented the matter to Greenhill, but he declined to be troubled. 15. Rudriga cheated the Company of eight pagodas he had received as customs. 16. Rāga Pattan having told 'Mallapa' that the Brahmans had 'cut of some petty customes' formerly levied, Agent Ivy turned him out of the town. Greenhill, however, invited him back, with the result that the Nawāb was informed of all the particulars, 'and for that trouble the townes people paid 100 pagodas for a glass to give the Nabob, and for makeing up the breach, Mallapa and Sesadra prevailed

[1] The *pallis* are a caste engaged either in sea-fishing or in agriculture.
[2] A measure equivalent to about half a bushel.
[3] Triplicane, now the chief Muhammadan quarter of Madras.

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with Annam Rago to underrate the cloth wee sent the Nabob from 400 to 282 pagodas'. 17. Rudriga and Timmanna forced shopkeepers to buy Greenhill's goods at more than their value, and the latter 'would not heare thereof'. 18. 'The grounds of our vilage taken from those that had lived thereon 100 yeares and would give the Company greater shares; of which the Agent would alsoe not heare. And Rudriga hath fild up a peece of corne ground which was given the old gardner towards his wages.' 19. Potter and Richard Cogan having made great profits by a voyage to Pegu, Ivy suggested to the Surat President that those men should be hired to direct another voyage thither. Cogan, however, obtained leave to go to the camp, where he became the Nawāb's servant, and then returned with money to buy goods on the Nawāb's behalf for a fresh venture to Pegu. Ivy seized and put him in irons, to send him to England; but 'Jacob'[1] induced the Nawāb to procure his release, whereupon Cogan ran away to San Thomé [*see the previous volume*, p. 198]. Yet Greenhill restored him to his place, sent soldiers to fetch his wife back, and employed him in a private venture to Pegu. 20. No satisfaction has been given for certain losses incurred in that country. 21. Minors was not censured for the escape of the Padre Governor of San Thomé from the Fort. 22. The back gate was opened at midnight by the servants of Greenhill and Gurney, but no punishment was inflicted. 23. When the Nawāb ordered a 'banksale' [warehouse] to be built of straw, Greenhill insisted that lime and stone should be used, and when these were provided and the work was begun, he still hindered it. This caused great trouble, to allay which he sent Venkata to the camp, allowing 200 pagodas for the purpose and bidding him raise the money in the town. 24. The Company's cash has been used for private purposes; of the cloth brought in, the best has been taken for private trade and only the remainder brought to the Company's account; while presents have been wasted on Seshādri's own friends. 25 and 26. In Ivy's time, Krishnappa Nāyak's servants stole a Persian horse, which Ayappa Nāyak recovered and kept. Ivy sent 'our father and Duga' to claim it, but they were unsuccessful; and although Ayappa

[1] Probably Jacob Fuddle, who came to the Coast in 1626 or 1627 (see the 1624–29 volume, p. 344). He acted for a time as gunner at Armagon, and then appears to have set up trade on his own account.

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Nāyak came hither afterwards to see the town and recover a debt from Seshādri, Greenhill gave him presents and said nothing about the horse. 27. For some unknown reason, Greenhill always takes the part of Seshādri and his associates, though they have done much harm to the Company's interests. 28. He was urged to deal direct with workmen in the town, but he preferred to entrust the money to Seshādri and Koneri Chetti to procure goods outside, though warned of the result. 29. The Brahmans regard themselves as the Company's servants, seeing that their father served for forty years; this was why they warned Greenhill about Seshādri and Koneri Chetti. 30. When they 'gave item' [i.e. an admonition] to ascertain what each debtor had in the workmen's hands, Greenhill would take no notice. 31. Thereupon Seshādri and others 'raised stories against us to overthrow us, which the Agent examined not; which made us step aside to St. Tome'. 32. Disclaim having had any 'relation to the Nabob', except in Venkata's two missions to him. In the second of these the Nawāb praised Greenhill to Littleton and said that if he remained Agent for four or five years more it would do well for the business intended; 'to which end he wrote the Company and sent presents.' 33. Two poor beggars in Rudriga's house quarrelled and one beat the other, who complained thereof to Rudriga. The latter came out and struck the beggar, who thereupon cut his throat. No justice was done; and Venkata got 'Dick the barber' to cure the man. 34. Rudriga without cause beat two of Venkata's 'painters' with his 'shoote' [Hind. *juti*, a slipper]. 35. 'From the time of Abram Carter[1] and Cavileirs comeing hither and conferring with the Agent, the Agent slighted to comply with the Nabob.' 36. Thereupon the latter sent for Francisco Vera and entrusted to him the goods intended for the Company. 37. The Nawāb wrote to Venkata to warn Greenhill of the designs of the Dutch. 38–42. Various malpractices charged against Greenhill, Gurney, &c. 43. 'The Vizapoore Moores passing by this place with Lacham Nague [Laksmana Nāyak?] from Pullecatt, Seshadra procured a vissitt and parly with the Agent concerning renteing of Porto Novo, on which there was about 100 pagodas spent.' Venkata opposed this, and within a month news came that the Moors had exacted 5,000

[1] Referred to in 1656 as 'Abraham Carter, an English Dutchman serving the Hollanders'.

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rials from the Nāyak. 44. Goods belonging to the Nawāb were carried to Pegu and to Persia and passed free through the customs as the Company's goods. 45. Formerly the townspeople paid 20 rials monthly towards the maintenance of a guard of 20 men; but Timmanna, in order to raise money more easily for his pagoda, stopped this and 'brought the taliars in', who proved useless when the mutiny broke out. 46. Timmanna and Rudriga took a bribe to restore them, and procured them a new custom of $\frac{1}{16}$ fanam on each pagoda for all cloth brought in. 47. Timmanna raised 5 pagodas per month for his temple. 48. Those who procure honour for 'our nation' and the Company should be honoured, and those who occasion dishonour should be punished. 49. Ivy gave Seshādri 20 'garse' [*see* p. 243] of rice to distribute among the 'painters' and weavers, but he only distributed two 'garse' and sold the rest. Complaint being made, Ivy dismissed Seshādri and entrusted his duties to Venkata. 50. In the time of scarcity Ivy ordered that a third part of all grain brought in should be distributed to the townspeople, 'our father and Ninapa [Nainiyappan] having the addigarshipp and disposure of the graine'. Seshādri instigated complaints, with the result that Ivy entrusted him with the duty and made 'Surwa Raz' adigar. Both of these men still owe money for the grain. 51–54. Instances of oppression &c. on the part of Seshādri and Koneri Chetti. 55. On some coral coming from Surat, Greenhill connived at its being bought on credit by Seshādri, though certain merchants offered ready money. 56. Greenhill is blamed for slighting the Nawāb's offer to supply piece-goods. 57. When the *Dove* was reported to be overloaded, some of the Company's goods were taken out, but none belonging to private men. 58. Coming from Bantam the same ship was rendered leaky through having so much copper on board; this did not belong to the Company. 59. 'Rustom beague [Rustam Beg] and the Agent mett on a day appointed, a hauking by the Mount [i.e. St. Thomas's Mount], when the Agent invited him to come to the Fort.' There Greenhill bought goods of him on such terms that Rustam Beg informed the Nawāb, hoping to be employed in further bargains on behalf of the latter. Account of a dispute between Seshādri and the Nawāb's agent 'Verapa' [Vīrappa], and Greenhill's interference on behalf of the former. 'Verapa' thereupon broke his promise to

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supply goods from Alamparai, and had recourse to the Dutch instead; the result was that the Nawāb 'gott knowledge and began to trade in these parts'. 60. After the Nawāb quarrelled with the Dutch, Greenhill obtained his permission for the trade of 'our merchants'. Some of these conveyed goods to the Dutch, whereupon the Nawāb again stopped the English from trading. 61. Greenhill forced some damaged rice on Venkata, who 'turnd it on the painters'. The latter complained, and he had to compensate them. 62. Suggest inquiries of 'each cast' as to 'whoe hath taken paines for the good of the towne'. 63. 'Nynapa', being indebted to Jacob [Fuddle], 'served him for his debt'. Greenhill, being about to send his brother [Joseph] and son-in-law [John Gurney] to 'Gingarlee', insisted, in spite of Fuddle's protests, on dispatching 'Nynapa' with them. 64. 'In my opinion in Gingerlee[1] is to bee procured many sorts of cloth 20 or 30 per cent. cheaper then here; to which end I once put the Agent in minde that the Dutch had settled a factorie there, as the Company might alsoe; but the Agent said hee desired none of my councell.' 65. The rice brought by John Gurney was landed at Kistnapatam. 66. An instance of Greenhill's private trade. 67. Gurney defrauded a weaver he had employed. 68. Greenhill used the Company's rice to provide cloth for a private venture to Bantam, repaying only the original value. 69. Gurney borrowed the Company's money for his own purposes, and charged them with the interest on a loan thus necessitated. 70. Greenhill imprisoned a broker for giving information of private trade. 71. And beat a Brahman employed by the President. 72. He took Rudriga's part when complaint was made against him in a bargain over some jewels. 73. Rudriga was concerned in marrying an Indian woman to a man, though she had a husband living in the town. 74. Greenhill insulted Kānappa when he came to pay him his respects. 75. Rudriga refuses to make good to Venkata some money for which he became surety. 76. Particulars of another debt due from the same. 77. Also of one owing by Seshādri. 78. After Baker's arrival the Agent and others, fearing lest the Brahmans should give information against them, procured their dismissal. 79. Seshādri, Rudriga, and Timmanna, anticipating that the 'Chittees' would assist the Brahmans, brought about a broil over a funeral, and sent

[1] The coast between the Godāvari delta and Orissa.

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the 'painters' out of town. 80. Leigh beat Kānappa for carrying out the President's directions. 81. Some rice was brought from 'Gingerlee' by Leigh's orders and sold at a profit of 25 per cent. Was this profit brought to accouut? 82. Leigh, hoping to find treasure as Miller had done, had old bricks dug up to build a godown[1], when he might have bought new more cheaply. 83. Stevenson and Brown made profit by exchanging pagodas. 84. Gurney and Chamber paid no customs on certain goods. 85. Jeremy Root was allowed to carry broadcloth to the camp. 86. The 'Macwaes' [boatmen] received formerly three fanams 'for each massoola[2] turne'; now they are allowed but two. 87. Leigh and Gurney prevented Baker from punishing Rudriga when the latter abused him. 88. Potter and Richard Cogan, when they went to Pegu in the *Peacock*, shifted on to the Company a bad debt. 89. Greenhill has falsely alleged that Rudriga was the Company's servant, not his. 90. Greenhill took customs from Fuddle on brimstone and rice. 91. Leigh told the Brahmans that, if they made charges against Englishmen, or revealed their secrets, they must expect that all Englishmen would spit in their faces. 92. Leigh took from them a letter received from the Nawāb, and gave it to Greenhill. 93. Instances of illicit dealings on Greenhill's part. 94. Gurney, after buying the house of John Gonsales, 'thrust the Comittees [Komatis] out of their place and built shopps there, for which hee received rent; and now, since the Chitties went out of towne, cause[d] the Chittees shopps to bee puld downe which stood by his new howse'. 95. Greenhill imprisoned two men charged with receiving stolen coral. At Rudriga's instance he released the chief offender, whilst fining the other. 96. Customs having been exacted at 'Carrer' [Karedu, in Nellore district] on rice sold in private trade, Greenhill, on his way from Masulipatam, stopped there and, on being visited by 'the Braminee Governor', beat him. This caused the Nawāb to prohibit the English from selling rice at Masulipatam. 97. Learning through Venkata that the 'Chittees' were making profit out of gold, Ivy set 'Mutta Chittee [Muttu Chetti] to quoine for the Company and found that there was 4 or 5 per cent. gotten by it; and from that time all the gold was quoined

[1] Presumably at Petapoli.

[2] A large surf-boat used for the conveyance of goods to and from the ships.

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in that manner for the Company', under the superintendence of Rudriga and Timmanna. Inquiry should be made as to the gain resulting. 98. Greenhill refrained from punishing one of Potter's servants found guilty of detaining certain rubies. 99. An account should be demanded for rice sold at various ports in the Company's name. 100. During Greenhill's period of office, besides the *Love*, sixteen ships and a boat were dispatched; one-third of their cargoes consisted of private men's goods, bought with the Company's money, and paying neither freight nor customs. 101. Gurney's slave was not punished for stealing the Company's money from his desk. 102. Greenhill used the Company's smiths and carpenters in building his houses and making chairs and cots for him. 103. Leigh released without inquiry seven persons imprisoned by Kānappa for playing at dice. 104. Leigh brought some 'betteelaes' [muslins] from Masulipatam and sent them by Greenhill to Pegu, receiving 'gance' in return. He told Kānappa that Greenhill and Gurney had done him such courtesies that he would 'spend his life for them'. 105. At Petapoli Leigh sent the Company's money to 'Gingerlee' and bought grain, with which he paid the coolies and servants at 25 per cent. more than it was worth. He got Broadbent dismissed, lest he should testify against him, and procured the transfer of Johnson. 106. The Brahmans suggested the employment of a man who would make gunpowder cheaper than 'Nagabattanda'; but Greenhill was persuaded by Timmanna &c. to continue to employ the latter, 'saying hee came from Armagon with us'. 107. Greenhill beat a merchant with his slipper; whereupon the latter 'would dye', and abstained from food for three days. Venkata and others prevailed upon him to eat, and begged Greenhill to make reparation by presenting him with a vest; but this he absolutely refused to do. 108. 'Chinnawand Cittie' [Chinnavandan Chetti] a 'painter', having failed to fulfil his contract with the Brahmans, sought employment from Greenhill, who gave him cloth to make curtains, &c., notwithstanding their protests. 109. Another 'painter' owes money to the Company, but this debt has been 'lett fall' since Gurney employed him. 110. On the imprisonment of the Brahmans, a meeting was held by Timmanna and his associates, at which it was stated that Greenhill, Leigh, and six more Englishmen had agreed that, if the President failed to deliver the Brahmans to them, they would put

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him out of office, having already written to the Company about the matter. Steps were then taken to win over the 'painters' to make charges against the Brahmans. This was effected, and the charges were drawn and signed in the presence of Greenhill, Leigh, and five other Englishmen. 111. In Cogan's time Ayappa Nāyak guaranteed a debt, which proved a bad one. Ivy wrote to the Nāyak about it, but without success; and when the Nāyak came here, Greenhill refrained from asking for the money. 112. Littleton came from Rāybāg to Masulipatam, and he and Wright, after going to Bantam, returned hither in the *Dove*. 'He was then appointed 'to looke after the painters and cloth in the towne; but hee had onely that name, being alwaise either at the Garden or at the Mount in the Agents company, and went twice up to the Nabob, where at the time the *Lyoness* was to bee dispatched hee put Hassan Aga and Vincaty out'. He also induced the Nawāb to write in favour of Greenhill. 113. The President is requested to examine the accounts of goods imported for the Company and those dispatched in each ship, to ascertain who were the real owners. 114. Also to investigate the prices allowed for goods brought in, in which matter Seshādri was unduly favoured and the Brahmans injured. 115. At Potter's instigation the Brahmans' kinsman was replaced at Armagon by Venkatādri. Instances of the latter's frauds, in which he was protected by Greenhill. 116. Their reason for fleeing to San Thomé was that they were oppressed. After Greenhill had invited them back, he only urged them to deliver their goods, without examining their cause. 117. Acknowledge that the President has been much troubled since his arrival, and this why they have only now, when driven to it by their adversaries, made a full disclosure. Appeal to him for justice, and cite the testimony of their fellow townsmen in their behalf. Remind him that 'at the restoreing of the Chittees streete, wee parted with our house at the Presidents desire and to end the difference'. 118. Kānappa was imprisoned 'about gance belonging to particulars'; but this was really contrived 'to worke mischeife to the President'. While thus under restraint, the butler struck him with a slipper. The President has taken a year and a half to ascertain the truth of the matter; they now beseech him 'to distinguish betweene milke and the water'. (*Copy*. 19½ *pp*.)

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ACCOUNT BY WILLIAM NOKE OF EVENTS IN INDIA, DECEMBER 1653 TO APRIL 5, 1654 (*O.C.* 2357).[1]

At the beginning of December, Gary went in the *Falcon* to Diu to join the *Welcome* and *Dove* in a voyage to Persia. All three sailed on December 17. On January 8 they sighted Ormus and fought for five hours with two Dutch ships, losing only three men. Four days later, they and the *Endeavour* sailed for 'Scinda'. They found five Dutch ships there (January 23), and an engagement could not be avoided, as the *Endeavour* sailed so badly that she could not keep up with the rest. The fight lasted three hours, when the *Falcon*, which had fallen foul of two Dutch ships, hoisted the white flag, the vessel being much damaged and Griffin, her master, mortally wounded. Most of the crew took to the boats, and about thirty, with Gary and Griffin, got on board the *Welcome*. Soon after, the *Endeavour* also surrendered. Newland and most of his men got on board the Dutch just in time to escape being carried down by the vessel, which sank with ten Englishmen and eleven Dutchmen ('they say, drinkeing in her hold'). The *Dove* and *Welcome* thereupon fled, and on January 28 got safely into Diu. The *Welcome* had the Company's silk on board, the two vessels lost carrying merely provisions for Surat factory. Early in February the two ships, having re-embarked some lead they had left behind (except some sold to the Portuguese), quitted Diu and on February 7 got into Surat River, 'where they found the protection of the King of India'. About February 12 two of the Dutch ships arrived, bringing with them the *Falcon*; and at the latter end of March came in six more, including the *Lanneret*. About the middle of March four arrived from Taiwan; the whole thirteen were in Swally Hole when the writer left on April 5. The *Assada Merchant*, returning from the African coast, was at Bassein, being trimmed, as the *Seahorse* was in Surat River. The Dutch sailed on April 8, two for Persia, and the rest for Ceylon. The writer learnt at Basra that the former had arrived at their destination. Nothing had been heard at Surat of the *Eagle* up to April 5. Goods for England were awaiting shipment. On the ships from Batavia came a Dutch Commissary [i.e. Van Goens], who released

[1] Endorsed as written September 22, and received November 17, 1654. Probably these notes were penned at Aleppo.

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Newland, Hargrave, Allen, Joseph Blackman, and all the mates. Letters from Masulipatam advised the capture of the *Dove* and the shipwreck of the *Bonito* on the Coast of Coromandel. (*Unsigned.* 2 *pp.*)

MESSRS. YOUNG, PARK, OTGHER, AND LITTLETON AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, APRIL 8, 1654 (*O.C.* 2385).

Now answer the letters from Surat. The bills of exchange will be duly paid, and the balance of their money will then be left here for the present. Have bought nothing for Ispahān. The responsibility of lading the silk in the *Welcome* rests with Gary, whose commission made him chief while here. Park is now well again. Otgher was not detained against his will. The factors from the Coast are very willing to assist as directed. Payments from Lewis's estate. The desired accounts will be forwarded. Five days ago the Shāhbandar sent for Young and made many promises of future good usage; but, distrusting these, the factors went next morning to the Governor and laid their grievances before him. He dealt so roundly with the offender that the latter began 'to cry us pecavy', protesting that they should have the best of treatment in future, in earnest of which he sent back to them Wharton's goods. His object seems to be to prevent their complaining to the King. They demanded the payment of 1,000 tūmāns on account of the customs, but he declared that he had not received so much this year and had spent all that had come in. The usual presents have been given to the Governor and Shāhbandar, but they are not well content, expecting to be given more than their predecessors. The factors have been permitted to put their lock and seal on the customhouse again; but no account can be got of the Nawāb's goods. Dare not be too rigid with the Shāhbandar, because he has powerful friends at court. For other matters refer to instructions left with Park and the rest. No news has arrived from Spiller. Young starts to-morrow for Ispahān. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

HENRY YOUNG'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE FACTORS LEFT AT GOMBROON, APRIL 8, 1654 (*O.C.* 2393).

Thinks that the Shāhbandar will use them well, though not to

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the extent he promises. They must 'stand hard' for 1,200 tūmāns for the year's customs, and on no account accept less than 700, 'but rather tell him you will referr it to the tyme hee comes up to Spahaun'. The promised list of the Nawāb's goods must be obtained from the *nākhudā* and sent to Masulipatam. In addition to the annual presents, it is the custom to give bribes of 3,000 shāhīs to the Shāhbandar and 1,000 to his 'Vizeere' on making up the account of customs due to the English; in return, the Shāhbandar will give about 50 tūmāns, which must be brought to the Company's account. The goods remaining here should be sold as far as possible. The Company's money is all in the hands of the broker 'Tackorcee', where it will be safe enough. Any bills of exchange that arrive from Surat should be punctually paid. Cartwright is to be left in charge of such seamen as are here, with orders to send on letters. Frugality in house expenses enjoined. On departing for Ispahān, they should make an exact list of everything left behind. ($2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

MESSRS. YOUNG, PARK, OTGHER, AND LITTLETON AT GOMBROON TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 9, 1654 (*O.C.* 2386).

Receipt of the Company's packet. Refer to the enclosed copies of letters to Surat for the measures taken to procure the desired silk, and also for their negotiations with the Shāhbandar. The Dutch are doing their best to make the English odious to these people, but they are themselves unpopular and the appearance of a reasonably strong English fleet would result in their being turned out of all their holds on shore. 'They have lately had theire hands full; the Prince of Bengala being soe insenced against them that those Dutch in Bengala ware foarced to stand upon their gard in such parte of theire howse as escaped the fury of the fire, which burnt all their warehowses with a large quantety of goods in them, which was done, and two of their men killed, by those natives, and in January last the Dutch Comissary and the Governor of Piple ware treating about the businesse, but not any conclusion made when the two Bengala juncks came out of the Bay.'[1] The King of Macassar and Mīr Jumla are both very angry with the Hollanders

[1] For the troubles of the Dutch in Bengal at this time see *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xviii. no. 550 (1).

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and only await an opportunity to break with them; while it is reported that they are already turned out of their Japan trade. Hope therefore to see an English fleet sent out to complete their misfortunes. The Persians express surprise that this has not been done, in view of the English successes in Europe. From the enclosed letters the Company will learn the loss of the *Falcon* and *Endeavour*. The Surat factors have drawn 2,042½ tūmāns from hence by exchange, but enough remains to pay for the silk. Send an abstract of their accounts for last year. Have heard nothing from Spiller as to his proceedings at court.[1] (2 *pp. Received overland October* 30.)

JOHN SPILLER AT ISPAHĀN TO [THE COMPANY], APRIL 10, 1654 (*O.C.* 2388).[2]

Finds on his return from court that his letter of November 28 is still lying here; now forwards it, with copies of other correspondence regarding the events of his mission. When the great men heard of his coming to court, they expressed surprise, saying that they had thought that the Dutch had driven all the English out of Persia. 'Your busines and our nations repute was never, since our first tradeing in India, at so low an ebb and in so ill a condicion.' When Spiller refused to receive the *farmān*, the Itimād-uddaula replied that 'the takeing Hurmoze and what service the English formerly had done for this nation is to no purpose, for that is so long agoe that it is now forgotten. Therefore, seeing that the Hollanders brought in yearely by ther buying of silke four or five thousand tomands proffitt to this Kings treasurie, His Majestie would by no meanes give the Dutch cause of discontent for our sake; neither would passe any wryting that when greate Shaw Abasse gave the Dutch their customes it was but for halfe, seeing it was for all; and what had we to doe to meadle therewith, or call the Kings authoritie in question?' Evidently it is useless to make complaints, unless these are backed up by some show of force. The sickness of the Itimād-uddaula increasing, Spiller was unable to pay him a farewell visit, but he took leave of others whenever the weather permitted; 'for when the aire is wet or moist (as twas

[1] For a list of the packet see *O.C.* 2387.

[2] There is another copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*, and a third among the *Triplicates*.

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seldome otherwise whilst wee were in Massandraan) we must not enter into any greate mans howse, for, if wee doe, it is counted defiled in a very high degree—so good an esteeme have Christians and their religion amongst them.' Departed on March 4 and reached Ispahān on the 28th, with their horses in such a state that they are unfit to travel down to Gombroon. News of the Dutch surprisal of English ships and of the shipwreck of the *Bonito*. Prices here are low, but they have succeeded in getting rid of most of their goods. What remains of their stock of money, after paying the bills of exchange drawn at Surat, will be left at Gombroon, where it will be as safe as at Lar. Two junks have arrived from Bengal, one piloted by 'an English freeman', who brought a letter from Waldegrave, dated in Balasore, January 4, stating that the Company's saltpetre was being forcibly detained in Patna. 'Some abuses also have ben offered in Hughly, notwithstanding those costly firmaans and neshans that have ben procured and commaunds the contrary. But from whence this ill demeanor towards us proceeds, he sayes that he knew not, unlesse it be occasioned by our shipps non arrivall in those parts, or example showne the Dutch, who for these twelve monethes have ben suffitiently abused, and their howse in Piply burnt about their eares. So you may please to take notice that your affaires goes to wrack in all places, and in probabillitie will much more ere long, if you doe not resolve of and take some speedy course to prevent it; for now in India you cannot without greate hazard have a ship put to sea, which of necessitie must cause a generall stopage and obstruccion of your trade.' No news has been received from Europe for five months. 'A dayes journey from Faraabaud I mett with the Russian embasador, who went in greate pomp and state, he haveing drums, trumpetts, and flaggs carryed before him, accompanied with 250 or 300 Russians, and had as many camels for carryage of his present and luggage. What merchandize he brought, some is vended in Gylan and the rest transported hither; whose men heere sayes that he came upon very high tearmes, but I suppose before he obtaynes and procure his demaunds (if he does at all) he will finde more trouble and vexacion at this Kings court then he expects; for our linguist wrytes me, [in] a letter dated the 23th of the last moneth, that he was not admitted unto the Kings

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presence, nor I beleive will not awhile; for the bringer of the aforesaid advise (a slave of the Kings) sayes that the Aetamaam Dowlaat is dead, and dyed a day after he left Asharaaf; whose place report sayes is given to the Steward, a greate friend unto the Hollanders.' It is true that, when Spiller took leave of him, he professed equal friendship for the English, but this was probably due to the report that a great English fleet was coming to the Gulf. This shows what great benefits may be expected from a show of force; 'espetially if you could get into your hands about Surratt or on the coast of India some convenient towne or castle; which doubtlesse in a short time would greatly florish and be a meanes that you will not onely injoy a proffittable but a commaunding trade, and be a means much to increase your strength, force, and honour in the[se] Orientall parts; as the accions of the Dutch can too well witnesse, whoe looke not nor stand so much upon present gaines (if they have hopes that a place will prove at last benifitiall) as their future proffitt; which makes them disburse so much money on their fortificacions as to make them defencable, and not for a name and shew, let it cost them what it will.' The history of the Portuguese in the East points the same moral. Urge therefore that some course of this kind be taken, if only to restore the reputation of the English. *P.S.*—Has just heard that the *Dove* and the *Welcome* are safe in Surat River. (*Copy.* 3¾ *pp.*)

JOHN SPILLER AND ANTHONY DANIEL AT ISPAHĀN TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, APRIL 13, 1654 (*O.C.* 2389).[1]

Spiller's letters to Gombroon will show that the King has refused to interfere between the English and the Dutch, and so no compensation is to be expected for the goods taken by the latter and sold at Gombroon. The Persians profess a readiness to show favour in other matters, doubtless in order to secure a continuance of the usual yearly presents, which cannot now be dropped. Hope the Company will resolve to remedy these and other abuses in the only possible way. Spiller was very reluctant to undertake his present employment, and he trusts that he will not be blamed for ill-success; 'this is no time (or a very bad time) to call abuses and abusers to accompt.' As regards what is said from Surat as to the repute

[1] For another copy see the *O.C. Duplicates.*

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enjoyed by the English in Persia, this was only during the reign of the great Shāh Abbās, since whose death 'our honour hath every day more and more declyned', as will be shown by a perusal of Agent Gibson's letters to the Company. It is true that certain 'greate personages' give them courteous entertainment, but this is merely in return for presents made. Only a display of strength can restore the reputation of the English, as is shown by the rise of the Dutch in these parts. Moreover, the Persians would not be sorry of an excuse to deprive the English of their privileges in respect of the Gombroon customs, the sharing of which 'is counted a greate disparagement to their King'. As regards Bearblock, Spiller was perhaps wrong, but he was at the time ignorant of what is now stated. Nothing having been heard from Europe, they cannot tell how the war is going; but the Dutch here 'boast that now they will not have peace', though they admit that their country is in a very bad condition. It would be well, therefore, if the Surat Council could draw more bills of exchange on Gombroon; otherwise the money must remain there. Discharge of the debt of 'Perwana'. Trust that the troubles over the Deccan business are ended. Had they really dismissed 'Gechand', they would of course have informed Surat. He has now gone to the latter place, and so nothing more need be said about the business of the pearls. *PS.*—The old remains left here have all been disposed of, and they have now in hand only some Sind goods, some 'allejaes', and the China roots, the last two being in no demand. (*Copy.* 3¼ *pp.*)

UNDERTAKING BY WALTER WATTERER, SURAT, APRIL 16, 1654 (*O.C.* 2391).[1]

To pay the wages at specified rates of ten seamen (named) transferred from the Company's service to the *Welcome*. (¾ *p.*)

JOHN LEIGH AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO PRESIDENT BAKER, APRIL 16, 1654 (*O.C.* 2392).

In reply to the President's letter of March 29, he can but reiterate his former explanation about Baker's supposed guarantee of the Brahmans' debt. As for his scruples about putting them into the power of Greenhill, the like tenderness was not shown to the

[1] A copy will be found among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

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'painters' when Greenhill undertook responsibility for what was due from them. Nor could the Agent have been actuated by a desire to 'wreake his teeme'[1] upon them, for once or twice since his return Baker has offered to deliver them up to him and he has declined. It is a fact that Leigh has had no help from others in composing his replies, and that, as the result of the dispute, 'men of this familie doe shune my company'. Complains of his imprisonment and protests his innocence of any wrong to the Company. Confesses that he is ignorant of many sorts of goods, though he knows the kinds that are in vogue at Petapoli. As for book-keeping, 'when I have the Companies method I will keepe it'. If he has written falsehoods to the Company, it is for the latter to punish him. Trusts that Baker will be inspired with zeal to punish blasphemy and swearing and so 'to rule in the howse of God that godliness may bee advanced'. ($3\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

LEIGH'S ANSWER TO THE BRAHMANS' CHARGES,[2] APRIL, 1654 (*O.C.* 2394).

81. Confesses that he procured rice from 'Gingerlee'; but it lay for months at Masulipatam 'at the charge of warehowse and bandcoots'.[3] He then paid for the freight of it to Petapoli, as he has always done for all his goods. Cannot tell what profit he made; but sees no reason why his gains should be given to the Company, unless this is made a general rule. 82. Leigh was not there at the time; nor could new bricks have been bought at less cost, 'for theire is noe burnt brickes made neerer then Metchlapatam, and none in Chormandell soe good and soe cheape'. 91. This is wholly false. Knows nothing of the matter. 104. This is an invention. He sent nothing to Pegu, and received no goods from thence, though possibly he passed as his own a bale of tobacco belonging to some seamen, 'because of the sturr of the Nabobs Bramony'. The rest is false. 105. Denies this also. The only servant of the Company to whom he ever delivered grain was the Company's horse, and the only return he had for this was a journey on his back

[1] 'Teen', i.e. anger or annoyance, is meant.

[2] The particular clauses concerning Leigh are repeated first from *O.C.* 2441 (*see* p. 264).

[3] The outlay necessary to secure the rice from bandicoots, i.e. rats (Telugu *pandikokku*).

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occasionally as far as 'the Companies howse att Dulepunda'.[1]
110. Knows nothing about the alleged conspiracy. (*Unsigned.* 2 *pp.*)

PROTEST BY CHRISTOPHER YARDLEY (FOR HIMSELF AND THOMAS CHAMBER) AGAINST JOHN LEIGH, FORT ST. GEORGE, APRIL 25, 1654 (*O.C.* 2395).

Leigh has repeatedly declared that Yardley and Chamber have cheated the Company annually of 300 pagodas in the price of rice, butter, and oil, and have otherwise wronged them to the extent of 10,000 pagodas. Further, he has averred that Yardley injured the Company in certain goods bought from Mīrzā Kāsim, 'the great Governor of Pullewarr'.[2] Challenges him to produce proofs and witnesses. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

LEIGH'S ANSWER (*O.C.* 2395).

That Yardley overcharged for rice, &c., Leigh was told by Symonds. He also heard Winter accuse Yardley of transferring 'chopps' [Hind. *chhāp*, a stamp or mark] from one cloth to another; Yardley admitted this, but said he gave the Company better cloth in the place of what he sold. As regards the other matter, Leigh can produce the attestation of the Governor of Petapoli. Has made no imputation respecting Chamber, who has declared that Yardley kept the books from him and rated the goods himself. It is manifestly impossible for Leigh to produce witnesses, seeing that these events took place three hundred miles away. (1½ *pp.*)

CHARGES BY WILLIAM BROADBENT AGAINST JOHN LEIGH, AND THE LATTER'S ANSWER THERETO (*O.C.* 2404).[3]

The Charges.

1. Leigh at Masulipatam affirmed that Yardley and Chamber cheated the Company annually of 300 pagodas in oil, butter, and rice. Broadbent now certifies that the yearly expenditure under these heads does not exceed 200 pagodas; so the accusation is

[1] This may be meant for Dhulipudi, a village about 10 miles north-east of Petapoli.

[2] Pulivarru, on a branch of the Kistna, about 20 miles north-east of Petapoli.

[3] The charges are dated at Masulipatam January 1, 1653. Leigh's reply is undated, but was probably made about the time when he answered Yardley's accusations. It is convenient to deal with the two together.

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palpably absurd. 2. Leigh forced his own rice upon merchants and servants at nine pagodas new per candy, whereas the bazaar rate was six; and he sold his wax to the Company at above the current price. 3. He sent 'young Michael Yates' to Masulipatam about the said rice, 'which cost him his life.' Leigh also transported his rice in the Company's boat, and left behind some oil belonging to the latter. 4. He sent some piece-goods aboard the *Roebuck* and paid no freight for them. 5. He has accused Yardley, &c., of cheating the Company of at least 500 pagodas at the dispatch of every ship leaving Masulipatam. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

The Answer.[1]

1. Leigh's accusation was that a loss of 200 or 300 pagodas was incurred on all provisions by buying them in small quantities, instead of in gross at the proper season. 2. The rate he charged the servants and the shopkeepers for his rice did not exceed eight pagodas new per great candy, and it was good rice, whereas Yardley put off his bad rice to his servants at a higher rate. Denies that he ever gave any to the merchants or bought any goods for the Company in truck of his own. 3. Michael Yates was summoned to Masulipatam, not sent thither. Leigh asked him to see to the dispatch of some rice, but this was not the cause of his death, which was probably due to the ill-usage he received there. The Masulipatam factors give the same treatment 'to all honest men that search into theire wayes'; for example, Flowers had to buy physic for himself and Yates for his men. Leigh paid the boatmen for carrying the rice. The oil was left behind because there were no 'martavans' [*see* p. 19] to put it in and, if stored as it was, the 'bandecootes' [*see* p. 274] would have eaten the 'duppers' [leathern jars: Hind. *dabbah*]. Alleges that Yardley owned some of the boats and charged the Company an undue rate for using them. 4. This accusation is false. Explains how, at Yardley's introduction, three men came to Petapoli and desired him to get them some piece-goods. He procured some from the Governor of 'Pullewarr' and would have got more,

[1] Leigh declares in a preamble that Broadbent was sent to him at Petapoli as his assistant, but led such a wicked life there that Leigh protested against him. In a later letter (*O.C.* 2447) he mentions that Broadbent's father had served the Company for many years.

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but Yardley bought them at a higher price the 'chauckeree' [Hind. *chakar*, a roll], 'as I said in my first paper'. The bales he bought were carried from Petapoli to 'the bridge' [at Masulipatam], where Yardley ordered them to be put into a boat with the Company's goods. It was the business of the Masulipatam factors to see that freight was paid. Chamber let the same men have a bale of 'allejaes', but whether that paid freight Leigh cannot say. The profit made by Yardley on the dispatch of each ship was reported to Leigh, and, given time, he hopes to prove it. (*Copy*. 2½ *pp*.)

DECLARATION BY THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MAY 1, 1654 (*O.C.* 2396).[1]

Have done their best to relade the ship *Welcome* for Europe by the present date, which is the period fixed in her charterparty. Narrate her dispatch to Gombroon, her encounter with the Dutch, and return to Surat, where she was blockaded by the enemy. On the departure of the Dutch fleet, order was given to Watterer to take his ship out of the river and fetch part of her cargo from Rājāpur; but this has not been done. They therefore disclaim responsibility for her demurrage. They are of opinion that it is too late now for her to sail; but, if Watterer thinks otherwise, they are ready to give him orders accordingly. (*Copy*. 2½ *pp*.)

DECLARATION BY WALTER WATTERER, MAY 4, 1654 (*O.C.* 2397).

Alleges that he did his best to fulfil the orders of the President and Council to quit the river, hiring boats and men for this purpose; but the wind made it impossible. It was therefore no fault of the ship or crew that she did not sail as desired.[2] (1 *p*.)

THE COMPANY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE, MAY 8, 1654 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 245).

Now send them the *Katherine*, a freighted ship of about 200 tons, Gervase Russell master, with a cargo of lead, vermilion, quicksilver, broadcloth, &c., amounting to about 1,400*l*. The vessel has been

[1] For another copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[2] In *O.C.* 2398 will be found a translation of an attestation signed by the *mukaddams* (headmen) and pilots of 'Ombra' (Umra), narrating the efforts made to get the *Welcome* out of the river, down to May 8, when the work was stopped by order of the Governor of Surat.

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detained awhile, in order that she might 'bring the olive branch along with her', as she does now in the shape of news that peace has been proclaimed and that hostilities are to cease as from the 4th of this month. For any captures made after that date, full satisfaction is to be given, as will be seen from the enclosed copies of the proclamation and of the articles of peace. The ship is to be at once reladen for England with the goods available, including pepper and the 'cossaes' previously ordered. Articles sent for presents, including spirits 'for the Nabobs owne drinking'; also a supply of paper, ink, and quills. The presents for the kings of Jambi and Bantam will be forwarded direct to the latter place. At his mother's request, John Markland, formerly belonging to the *Love*, is to be returned in this ship. The executors of Thomas Peniston are suing the Company about the protested bills of exchange; desire to learn what is being done in the matter. Enclose a letter which should be sent to Surat, together with the articles of peace, &c. *PS.*—Forward also the Dutch proclamation of peace. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

THE COMPANY TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MAY 8, 1654 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 247).

Peace concluded with Holland. 'Our Agent in Amsterdam writes us that the East India Company there are sending over eight persons to compose the difference betweene us and them; soe that it appeares that the Lord Protector and his Counsell hath had some thoughts of us in his treaty with the Dutch; and wee hope the issue will be that wee shall recover from them some considerable satisfaction for those severall and great damages which wee have suffered by them.' Complain of deficiencies in certain bales of calico. The *Katherine* sent to the Coast. Another ship intended for Bantam. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

THE COMPANY TO THE FACTORS AT BASRA OR GOMBROON, MAY 8, 1654 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 249).

Announce the conclusion of peace with the Dutch. The enclosed letters should be at once transmitted to India. Are surprised to have heard nothing from either Basra or Gombroon since October, and blame the factors for this neglect. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

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PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND MESSRS. PEARCE AND GARY AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, MAY 12, 1954 (*O.C.* 2376).[1]

Now answer their letter of September 12, received on the 3rd instant. Defend their action in sending the three ships singly to Persia. The *Supply* was lost through the fault of her commander, who disobeyed his instructions to call at Jask or Muskat on his way, to learn how matters stood; he is also to blame for leaving the *Blessing* engaged and running away. 'Had wee knowne your servants had bein for the generallity such cowards as wee find them now to bee, wee should not have trusted them soe farr; but wee had hoped an Englishman would never [have] bein taken with the Dutch on equall termes, or at least with soe small odds as there was in the loss of all your shipps.' For the *Roebuck* and the *Blessing* they have no responsibility; but they cannot understand why the latter was so long detained in the Bay of Bengal. They have already explained that they were anxious to get the ships away before the arrival of the Dutch fleet expected from Batavia, and they knew that the enemy had only three ships on this coast or in the Gulf, besides the one at Surat, which was being watched by the *Falcon*; while the factors in Persia were warned to take all measures necessary 'if any such cloude of warr should arrise' in those parts. Regret to find themselves also blamed for the excessive private trade carried home in the *Smyrna Merchant*. This they did their best to hinder, but in vain; and they thereupon notified the Company, in order that steps might be taken on the ship's arrival. Will direct the Persia factors to make the desired investment in silk and send it overland, choosing fit men to accompany it. With regard to other goods, they could do little until the Company's advices were received. Some progress has been made in the purchase of saltpetre at Agra. The expected *farmān* for clearing the consignments at Ahmadābād and Patna is not yet obtained, though the matter has been on hand over twelve months. However, there is no urgency, for they have little chance of sending home any goods while the war lasts. Provision of cotton yarn, indigo, piece-goods, and quilts. Sugar is very dear and they will buy none at present prices; there is also a stock in the Bay, but this has been

[1] A copy forms part of *O.C.* 2399.

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ordered to be disposed of locally. Cardamoms and pepper have been provided at Rājāpur. Will try to obtain some nutmegs and mace. Could have procured a supply of the latter, but only at a price higher than that fixed by the Company; and had the returning Dutch East India ships been captured by the English navy, this commodity might have proved a bad bargain. Will need 30,000*l.* [25,000*l. in copy*] to pay debts and provide the goods ordered; but they hope to get a good sum from Persia soon. Have notified the intended dissolution of factories and ordered the factors to come down after the rains. Blackman thanks the Company for sanctioning his return. Pearce begs to be excused from taking up the post of President; he has been away from England over twenty years, and his aged mother and other friends urge him to come back; moreover, he finds in himself an increasing 'decay in nature'. Since they last wrote, one of their caravans has been robbed between Ahmadābād and Broach, for which no satisfaction can be obtained. Have already advised that some of their seamen have been enticed away to serve the Dutch or the Moors. The Governor of Surat now appears to be concerned in the matter. By the assistance of John Osborne and Richard Watson, 'freemen, as they call themselves, and now turned speritts[1],' 23 men have been inveigled away and have gone up country with them. 'When they had gayned their consent, they carryed them to the Governors, and there they were entertayned into the Kings pay and put into Moores habitt.' On complaining to the Governor about this, he replied that the King had sent for some Englishmen, and since those employed came of their own accord he could not but receive and protect them. Other Englishmen 'that are not of that gadding humor' have been beaten in the streets, one so badly that he died. The enclosed list [*missing*] of those seamen still in the service will show how much the number has decreased; and further desertions are feared, for on the least reproof or chastisement the men fly to the Governor for protection. The Dutch ships remained here until April 10. Before his departure, the Commissary in command released all the masters and mates taken in the *Endeavour* and *Falcon*. Their ships that came from Persia brought news of another battle in Europe, in which they admitted the English had had the

[1] An old term for kidnappers.

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advantage; it was also reported to their great discouragement that an English fleet of twelve ships was coming out, for which reason they not only hastened away but altered their resolution of leaving some ships here. Thereupon the commanders of the *Dove* and the *Welcome* were ordered to get their vessels out of the river at once; but the wind prevented this being done at the ensuing spring tide, and the next would be too late for them to get off the coast in time. It was therefore determined to send them to Rājāpur to fetch pepper, returning hither at the beginning of August; but at the last moment the Governor prohibited their sailing. The only reason he would give was that a junk was expected with a large quantity of pearls, and that the English intended to smuggle these ashore for the merchants, to the detriment of the customs. Thereupon the English broker offered to forfeit 100,000 rupees if his employers had anything to do with the junk, but the Governor merely called him an idle fool, and refused to alter his decision. So here the ships ride, and are likely to do all the rains. This shows how much the English have lost in reputation here. The Dutch, by their large presents and boasts of victories in Europe, have obtained a complete ascendancy over the officials here. When the English assert that they have beaten the Dutch at home, they are not believed, and are asked why ships are not sent to beat them here. It would have been better, if a sufficient force could not be dispatched, to have refrained from sending any at all; for the coming of the *Dove* and *Welcome* has brought a deal of mischief, and possibly more will ensue before they depart. Conceive that strong measures will have to be taken to preserve the Company's estate for the present and the trade for the future. 'With a small force (our difference with the Dutch being composed) you may make the trade of India what you please, and at once new settle your customes att Gombroone, which must bee done the same way or none.' With this in view, they have decided to dissolve the factory at Agra as well as the others, and call all the Company's servants to port. No service can be done at that place 'till tymes doe mend', and any goods required from thence will be procured in other ways; while 'you, being dissingaged of all inland factories, will have the less trouble to cleare yourselves of the country for a tyme, if you shall thinke fitt.' (5½ *pp.* *Received overland June* 25, 1655.)

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PRESIDENT BLACKMAN AND MESSRS. PEARCE AND GARY AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS IN PERSIA, MAY 12, 1654 (*O.C.* 2376A).

Wrote last on April 3, and have since received theirs of March 31 and April 1. Approve the remission of customs in the case of the Nawāb but not in that of the Governor of Balasore; no concession of the kind should be made in future without express orders from Surat, for otherwise there will be a general demand for exemption. Settlement of the Basra accounts. Payments to be made out of the estates of Lewis and 'Perwanna.' Note the negotiations with the Shāhbandar. Would be glad to learn the result of Spiller's mission. The Company's order for silk should be punctually obeyed, unless a countermand be received (as is not improbable); but they should bear in mind the needs of this place. The debt here is about 15,000*l.*; 5,000*l.* more will be required to pay for the goods at Rājāpur, and 10,000*l.* for completing the cargoes for England. If, therefore, peace be concluded, a sum of 30,000*l.* must be reserved for these purposes. The money belonging to the Coast should be remitted to Surat, with an account of sales. As Pearce intends to go home, Spiller must arrange to repair hither to succeed him; and he should bring with him his accounts and any money remaining. Young is to succeed Spiller as Agent. These arrangements are contingent on the conclusion of peace or the arrival of a strong force from England; otherwise both Pearce and Spiller must stay where they are. Enclose a packet for transmission to the Company. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

CHARGES BY JAMES MARTIN AGAINST JOHN LEIGH (*O.C.* 2402).[1]

1. He bought piece-goods at Petapoli for private men and sent them aboard the *Roebuck*, nothing being charged for freight and the Company being debited with the expense of putting them aboard. 2. He turned over to the Company at a high price some old candle-wax of his own, which was good for nothing. 3. He kept in his own hands for over a year money received from the Company's debtors, using it for his private benefit. 4. He spent a large sum 'in building hummums or hott houses and a great

[1] Delivered to the President and Council May 15, 1654. For a copy see the *O.C Duplicates*. Extracts have been printed in Love's *Vestiges* (vol. i. p. 137).

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warehouse only to put his owne graine in', though he was ordered to use that money in providing goods for England. 5. He put the Company to unnecessary expense by making a journey to Vīravāsaram. 6. He has abused the President to his face and written untruths to the Company. 7. He incited the late William Gurney to join in opposing the President. 8. He revealed the decision of the Council concerning the employment of the *Bonito*, with the result that the Dutch had news of the design. 9, 10. He has railed against the present Parliament for expelling the Presbyterians. 11. He tried to induce Yates and Burford to 'sweare his meaning and not their owne', and himself offered to swear on the Bible things which have since been proved to be false. 12. Though he pretends so much zeal to religion and service to the Company, he has associated with and defended those who have been shown to have cheated the Company. 13. He has defrauded the latter at least 30 per cent. upon most of his petty disbursements at Petapoli, paying servants &c. with his own rice and overcharging it in his accounts. 14. He has been known to be drunk nearly a month together and has led others into similar practices. Even at prayers he has been so 'overtaken' that he has cried Amen over and over again until he fell asleep. As for his usefulness as a merchant, he cannot distinguish one kind of cloth from another; while the books he kept at Petapoli will show that he is incapable of balancing accounts. (*Copy.* 2¾ *pp.*)

LEIGH'S ANSWER TO MARTIN'S CHARGES, JUNE 6, 1654 (*O.C.* 2403).

1. Admits that he bought goods for certain men, but asserts that Yardley knew of this and ordered their shipment. Leigh got nothing, and charged nothing to the Company. 2. Denies that the wax was bad or dear. 3. This is false. Explains the origin of the charge. 4. He was ordered to build and repair the house, but added nothing that was not authorized. The warehouse was not erected for his purposes, though he did store a little rice in it. 5. He went to Vīravāsaram about the Company's business and it was fair that his expenses should be paid. 6. Denies the use of uncivil language. What he wrote to them the Company must judge. 7. This is false. 8. Admits writing to Yates that he was to

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go to Pegu, but the latter did not reveal it to the Dutch, for the intention was already known. 9, 10. Has never spoken against the Parliament, for whom he has ventured his life 'in single duell'. 11. Denies tampering with Yates or Burford, or offering to swear what was false. 12. He has never assisted any man to the prejudice of the Company. 13. Avers that he has not knowingly wronged his masters of a penny. He paid some men in corn with their consent (as was done by Yardley and the Dutch), but this was reckoned at a proper rate. 14. This is altogether false as regards the charge of drunkenness, and he hopes the minister and others will clear him. His inability to keep books is known in England. As for cloth, he has no skill therein, but, if provided with patterns, he would do his best. (*Copy.* 2¾ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN FORT ST. GEORGE BY PRESIDENT BAKER AND MESSRS. GREENHILL, YARDLEY, LEIGH, AND JOHNSON, JUNE 10, 1654 (*O.C.* 2405).

Last night letters were received from the Company, dated September 12, 1653, announcing the intended dispatch of shipping to Goa and ordering that any goods ready on the Coast should be sent thither overland. After full debate it is agreed that this course cannot be taken without excessive cost and danger. The piece-goods here and at Masulipatam would suffice to lade 500 oxen, the hire of which to Goa would be 3,500 pagodas: fifty peons as guards would cost 350 pagodas, and ten Englishmen 400: while gifts on the way would amount to at least 250 pagodas. Adding the tolls to be paid at various places, the total will be about 2,000*l.*, whereas the prime cost of the goods will not much exceed 5,000*l.* Moreover, the country to be traversed is full of soldiers in many parts, besides thieves, and so there is small chance of escaping robbery. Further, there is little money in hand to pay these high charges. It is decided therefore to write to Surat for advice, asking at the same time whether that presidency can supply the necessary funds. There will still be time, should a favourable answer be received, to dispatch the goods; but it is hoped that news will arrive of the conclusion of peace and of the dispatch of a ship from England to lade goods on the Coast itself. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

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JOHN LEIGH'S ACCOUNT OF HIS IMPRISONMENT [JULY, 1654?] (*O.C.* 2384).[1]

On the evening of April 4 he returned from walking in the fields with John Field, William Brown (the steward), and John Gurney. Hearing the sound of guns from the Fort, they concluded that some good news had been received concerning the Hollanders, but found that it was merely done by order of the President 'in his drinking upon the point amongst the great gunns'. This delayed prayers until nearly nine o'clock. Then Baker called back the soldiers who were going down, and asked who were for the Company, adding that the rest would be paid and discharged. A few accepted the latter alternative, but all declared that they were for the Company. Thereupon Baker committed the Agent and Captain Richard Minors prisoners in the Fort, the former being confined in the President's own chamber. Leigh was at the same time ordered not to stir out of his room. The next day he was called to the consultation about the Brahmans' debts; he acknowledges that he signed the record, but maintains that his hand was 'of noe worth', he being a prisoner. Yardley, Martin, and William Johnson had been put into the Council, all being the President's creatures. On April 6 a consultation was held, at which the Brahmans were cleared from the charge of threatening to burn the town, but Kānappa was fined 16 pagodas for taking bribes to cover the selling of children for slaves. Details of this disgraceful traffic and Leigh's detection of it. On April 12 Leigh signed this consultation, sore against his will, fearing that the heats would kill him if he did not secure his liberty. After the President had cleared him, Leigh was charged by the Brahmans (at Baker's instigation) with wronging the Company in bricks for building and private trade in corn; but most of this is false. Further, the President put in another great declaration against him, and Yardley made charges, both personally and through Broadbent, who formerly lived with Leigh. On April 28 the latter answered Yardley, accusing him of cheating the Company. On May 20 there was a dispute between Gardner (husband to Mrs. Baker's midwife) and young Anthony Baker, the former saying that 'the salsages stunke', whereupon the latter beat him for

[1] Extracts are printed in Love's *Vestiges* (vol. i. p. 135).

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complaining of anything 'at his unkells table'. Leigh, the same evening, received a message to go to his chamber and speak to no one; and later a guard was set upon him. Next day the guard was withdrawn and Leigh went to church. On the following day Baker delivered him a charge unsigned, but stated to be from Captain Martin. The President also ordered the Rev. Mr. Thompson not to allow Leigh into his room, but Thompson refused to obey. Baker then forbade Leigh to speak to the surgeon or to Taylor; and warned him not to 'steale away the hearts of the people', with many other foolish speeches. Martin died June 27 at Fort St. George, and thus ended the dispute about the Brahmans. (*Copy.* 4½ *pp.*)

THE COMPANY TO THE AGENT AND FACTORS IN PERSIA, AUGUST 24, 1654 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 263).

Acknowledge the receipt of several letters from them. Peace having now been concluded, the orders for the dispatch of silk overland are cancelled. Any already bought should be sent down to Gombroon for embarkation. The Dutch and English commissioners are still in negotiation, and the Company's claim for damages has been submitted to them. Are also pressing for the restoration of their spice islands; if this be obtained, it will much encourage the subscription of a fresh Stock. (*Copy.* 2 *p.*)

THE AGENT AND FACTORS AT ISPAHĀN TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 1, 1654 (*O.C.* 2408).[1]

Wrote last on April 13. Now answer the Surat letter of April 3. The Gombroon factors cannot discover what has become of the rest of Cherry's estate, and nothing can be made out of the papers he left. He spent a good deal at Goa in wrangling with merchants who had freighted goods in the vessels, in repairs, and in wages; while much of the sugar was damaged by water. Whose property this was is not known, but it is believed that all the sugar thus lost was put to the account of the Bengal factors. Refer to 'Gechand' for the account of the Governor of Hūglī. Affirm that they have written to Surat as often as was necessary. Regret the orders given

[1] There is another copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

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by the Company for the provision of silk. Have thought it expedient to wait awhile before complying, on the chance of fresh instructions being received, particularly as there are persistent rumours that peace has been concluded. No news has yet been received, but this may be due to the fact that, as they hear from Basra, two messengers from the Consul at Aleppo have been robbed of their letters near Bagdad. A further reason for delay is that Surat may have drawn further bills upon them, and to be unable to meet these would be 'no small blur'. Park, finding it impossible to come to an agreement with the Shāhbandar of Gombroon, left that place on June 14, accompanied by Abraham Hutchins (Littleton being dead). Hutchins died four days later, and Park reached Ispahān alone on July 14. A week later he too fell ill, and he died on the 22nd, to their grief, leaving them only three in number. They had at first intended to dispatch their linguist to court to complain of the Shāhbandar, but, hearing that he was expected here, and considering that the Itimād-uddaula was his uncle, they decided to try first to bring him to terms. He arrived on August 12, and on their visiting him promised to conclude the matter to their satisfaction when his servants should bring up his accounts. Two Dutch ships from Surat reached Gombroon on June 10. Rates at which their goods were sold. The money is to be paid here, where they owe for 400 bales of silk received of the King's servants and sent down to port to be laden in those ships, which will then depart for Ceylon. Some Dutch factors were dispatched to Basra from Gombroon about June 23, but apparently they have few goods to trade with. All this year there has been small demand here for foreign commodities, owing to their slow vend in Tabrīz and other cities; so much of their stock remains still on hand. 'Padree Felise, the Carmalite padree that was in Buszorah, is come to this cittie, he being made Provinciall of that order. Him we have thanked for his courtesie in dispeeding and receiveing our letters, and also rewarded him with some small matter. The 17th May arrived heere Roger Harvy, who, it should seeme, gave the Indians the slip, upon some distast, a little after that they beseiged Khandahaar, and fled into the castle to the Persians; where by report he did them very good service. He came from thence to Mazandraan with the Generall; from whence he was dispeeded hither with

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a chupper[1] to take a view of some gunns; wheare he remayned untill the 30th July, and then with another chupper was sent away for Khandahaar, the Governor of that place haveing sent to the King for him.' The foregoing was written in the middle of August, but detained in the hope of letters from Europe and of some conclusion being reached with the Shāhbandar. Neither hope has been fulfilled. The Shāhbandar refused to go beyond the offer of 500 tūmāns he made at Gombroon, bidding them go to court if they were not satisfied; but rather than do this, they will take the money. Enclose a copy of a letter written to the Company. (*Copy.* 4 *pp.*)

MESSRS. SPILLER AND YOUNG AT ISPAHĀN TO THE COMPANY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1654 (*O.C.* 2410).[2]

Wrote last on April 9 and 10. Young came here on May 1, bringing the Company's order to make an investment in silk. Neither they nor the Dutch can buy any quantity except through the King's servants, who make them pay 10 tūmāns per load more than the current rate and then deliver poor silk. It might be possible to employ an Armenian to purchase for them, but most merchants of that nation are deceitful and dishonest. They decided therefore to do nothing until reference had been made to Surat, especially as the President and Council had drawn on them to the amount of 6,042½ tūmāns and might be drawing more. Moreover, it is persistently rumoured, and the Dutch affirm as much, that peace has been concluded; in which case the Company will doubtless countermand their orders. Note that the factories at Ispahān and Gombroon are to be continued. Their numbers have been so reduced that they again urge the re-employment of Codrington. In future the bales of silk shall be made up in the manner prescribed. They are forced to buy coarse and fine silk together, just as, in buying baftas, it is often necessary to accept some of poorer quality. Troubles with the Shāhbandar of Gombroon, from whom they have been obliged to accept 500 tūmāns, with fifty more as a gratuity to the Agent. This is an intolerable abuse, and they would have refused the money, had not the Company charged them to take what they

[1] Persian *chārpā*, a mounted courier.

[2] For another copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*. A third (incomplete) is among the *Triplicates*.

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could get. The Shāhbandar denied their right to anything more than his master pleased to allow. It is true that the account kept has been for many years a matter of form; but they think it advisable to retain a servant to make up the account and another to watch at the customhouse, though he dares do nothing that will displease the Shāhbandar. The Persians say that 'we are nothing now in these parts', and that, whereas formerly the English traded with big ships, now they send only a few small vessels, manned largely with lascars. Perceiving this diminution of 'strength and force of shiping', both Indians and Persians disesteem the English. At Gombroon the Shāhbandar ignores their rights; but this and other injuries they are forced to endure in silence. Indian merchants have also been badly treated, and are likely to make Kung their port in future; this may bring about a change, when the King hears of it. Intend to petition the Itimād-uddaula about the customs. Ghilān has this year yielded less silk than usual; yet many merchants have gone thither to invest, and this has made the commodity scarce and dear, none having yet reached this city. The King has been all the summer at Kasbin, and it is believed that he will go again to Mazanderān for the winter. His keeping at such a distance from these parts encourages his governors to wrong people, knowing that they are not likely to travel so far to complain, with little prospect of success. Spiller gave up his intention of going to Gombroon when he heard that Young was coming hither. Wonder that they have had no news from the Company or from the Consul at Aleppo. This letter has been delayed by the negotiations with the Shāhbandar, which were only yesterday concluded. (*Copy.* 5¼ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BAKER AND MESSRS. GREENHILL, LEIGH, AND JOHNSON AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE COMPANY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1654 (*O.C. Duplicates* 2419).[1]

Wrote last on January 12, by way of Surat. Have since received the Company's letters of April 1 and September 12, 1653, and now answer the latter, which arrived June 9. Were glad to hear of the postponement of the *Eagle's* voyage. The telescope has been

[1] This is an original. A copy appears under the same number in the regular *O.C.* series. Extracts have been printed in Love's *Vestiges* (vol. i. p. 115).

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delivered to the King of Macassar, who has paid the full value and expressed his thanks. Remind the Company of the 'harquebuses' desired for the King of Bantam, for which he has delivered money in advance. Note the arrival of the homeward-bound vessels. Explain the impossibility of sending goods overland to Goa for transport to England, as, apart from the disproportionate expense involved, four or five great armies lie dispersed in the districts through which the caravan must pass. They can hardly send a letter by land to Masulipatam without the bearer being stopped and searched. 'It hath been no small miserye that this poore heathen country hath suffered any tyme these ten yeares almost, since the Moores of Vizapore on one side and those of Gulcondah on the other side first made inroads upon it. And now, when wee hoped all would have beene put in some good posture of goverment, to continue still those miseries (or rather to adde a greater burthen to it) our Nabob is lately up in armes against the King of Gulcondah his master, whose commands hee slighteth, intending (soe farre as is conceived) to keepe what part of the country hee hath conquered to himselfe; which if hee can accomplish, hee will soone bee as great a king as his master, and his yearely revenew little inferriour to it. What the issue to these things wilbee, the Almighty only knoweth; in the meane tyme wee that live here amongst them shalbee sure never to want troubles on every side.' The Dutch have confirmed the rumours that peace is concluded in Europe, and it is hoped shortly to hear from the Company that this is so. The factories on this Coast are now reduced to Masulipatam and Fort St. George and have been so upwards of eighteen months; though Edward Winter remains at Vīravāsaram to gather in a few debts, promising to effect this speedily or pay the money himself. He is allowed five pagodas a month to cover all expenses. Cannot see any possible way to withdraw the stock from Bantam &c. until peace is settled. The Dutch keep a vigilant watch over their actions and not even a letter can be sent by sea without risk of interception. Wrote to Bantam last December by a junk which the Nawāb was dispatching to Macassar. This junk the Dutch stopped and carried into Batavia, promising to give the Nawāb 50 per cent. advance on the cargo. Last June she sailed on her return voyage. An answer from the Agent at Bantam had been secretly put aboard her, but

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the Dutch heard of this, searched the vessel, and carried off the letter. From other documents that escaped detection they gather that Agent Skinner at Bantam is scarcely able to procure food for the factory; that Goodman, his second, is dead and the Agent himself very sickly: that 26 seamen escaped from the Dutch and came to Bantam: that the loss in the *Dove* will not exceed about 17,425 rials of eight: that the King of Macassar is dead: that the Dutch have been very hardly put to it in Amboina this year: and that James Crawford is dead at Macassar. Medicines and other English provisions are much needed in those parts. No news has been received of affairs in Jambi and Camboja. Have little fresh to say concerning trade on this coast. Fort St. George 'is reduced into a very good posture to defend itselfe against any ordinary enemy, had wee but men of courage and resolution about us to keepe it; but for matter of accomodation it is in as pore a condition as may bee, having neither good roomes for intertainment nor good chamber for lodgeing in it; but for that wee hope in tyme to come some course wilbee thought on, as also for erecting of wearhowses wherein to preserve your goods, whereof there is a great want.' Since Christmas they have had a very sickly time, scarcely one of them escaping illness. Have buried eight of the garrison and Captain Martin, who died on June 22 [*sic*] after a long sickness. When a ship is sent hither, they beg for a supply of 'chirurgery means' and some sack and beer. For a long time they have had to drink cold water, or at best a little stinking arrack such as the poorest porter in London would reject. Thank the Company for sending them some wine by the *Dove* and *Welcome*; but it has proved impossible to forward this from Surat. Have not yet recovered any of the means sent to Persia in the *Supply* and *Roebuck*; so they are almost at their wits' end to find money to pay the garrison and buy food. Have asked Surat to assist in getting funds from Persia, but hear nothing of the result. Desire the Company, when a ship is dispatched hither, to send in her a good cargo, not 'an empty hull', which would cause the Dutch to brag of the state to which they had reduced the English, and would bring no small shame on the factors. Articles for presents should also be forwarded. Have heard nothing from Pegu since they last wrote; while from Bengal no letters have arrived these four months. It is understood, however, that

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the factors there have invested all their means in goods for England, but the Governors will not suffer these to be brought down until presents arrive. Since the death of William Gurney in September, 1653, it has been found that he is much indebted to the Company; nothing, therefore, should be paid to his friends until further advice. Trust to hear from the Company ere long. (6½ *pp.* *Received by the* Welcome.)

PRESIDENT BAKER AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE COMPANY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1654 (*O.C.* 2411).[1]

Trusts that his previous letter has satisfied the Company in regard to the bills drawn from Bantam on account of Thomas Peniston. Must now narrate certain troubles that have arisen here. After his arrival he was often solicited by 'the Braminees, who are the Gentue writers of the house and keepe accompt of everything done', to give them private audience, when they would inform him of many things wherein the Company had been wronged. He bade them put in writing the heads of what they wished to communicate; whereupon they said that they had it all written in 'Gentue' but desired help in translating it into English. At their desire William Winter was deputed for the task, and took down whatever the Brahmans dictated. The result was that six or seven papers were brought in, containing strange charges against Greenhill, Gurney, and their servants. Having no fit men here to consult about the business, Baker wrote to Masulipatam, desiring Yardley, Edward Winter, and Leigh to repair hither in the *Love*. Yardley was too busy to come, but the others arrived, and, Brookhaven having been invited to assist, the charges were examined as carefully as time would permit. By the *Love* Baker sent the Company copies of the papers received from the Brahmans; and this has so angered Greenhill that he will never forget it, should an opportunity occur of revenging himself upon Baker. From a perusal of those papers the Company will see 'what fine deallings you have had from your servants hertofore in this place'. Most of the cloth provided here has been bought with private goods, thrust upon the merchants at excessive rates, while the factors have drawn payment for the cloth out of the Company's cash. Moreover, the servants of Greenhill

[1] Printed (in part) in Love's *Vestiges* (vol. i. p. 138).

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and Gurney took 2 or 3 per cent. out of all money paid or goods delivered or brought in (the Brahmans themselves sharing in this). Many other abuses are enumerated; and the result has been that several of the chief merchants here, such as Koneri Chetti and Seshādri Nāyak, are utterly undone and, although charged in the books with large sums, are quite unable to pay. Most of their indebtedness is for private goods sold to them or money lent to them at interest by Greenhill, who afterwards, finding these men unable to pay, reimbursed himself, principal and interest, out of the Company's cash and transferred the debt to its account. Gurney in similar fashion paid himself out of the treasury for goods sold to Venkata and charged the debt in the Company's books. As the Brahman is quite unable to discharge this and other liabilities, by a consultation of March 29, 1654 the sum in question was retransferred to Gurney's account. Cannot reckon up the hundredth part of the dishonesties acted upon this Coast, but, if he lives to return to England, he will give 'a more large and ample relation of them'. It is useless to put anything to the vote in consultation that affects Greenhill, Gurney, or Leigh, or any of their servants, for they are all in league to defend their interests. Leigh is 'a very ancient man, past the best of his years for mater of action'. He came out in the *Bonito* in 1650, commended for an able man and 'a bredd Spanish merchant'; but he knows no language but his own, is ignorant of piece-goods, and is quite unable to keep accounts properly. His vote in Council and his other proceedings have much obstructed Baker in calling delinquents to account. Upwards of five months ago, hearing that Leigh had written to the Company accusing him, Baker required a copy of the letter. The enclosed document was then delivered; whether it agrees with the original or not, Baker denies all imputations on his integrity. He intended to write a detailed reply to Leigh's assertions, but has been too ill to do so; it shall, however, be sent by the next conveyance. While employed at Petapoli, Leigh did little for the Company, though he spent a great deal in building and other unnecessary expenses. Encloses charges made by Martin against Leigh, most of which were proved in consultation, and the whole would have been established but for Martin's death. Requests the Company to recall both Greenhill and Leigh to answer at home, for Baker can do no more

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here for fear of bringing 'a confusion to your busines'. (6¼ *pp. Received May* 3, 1655, *by the* Welcome.)

PRESIDENT BAKER AND MESSRS. GREENHILL, JOHNSON, AND LEIGH AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE COMPANY, OCTOBER 11, 1654 (*O.C.* 2419).

The foregoing is copy of theirs of September 18. Hear that the *Eagle* reached Goa on July 22, but no letters have yet come to hand; so possibly these are being forwarded via Surat. Enclose copy of a consultation held June 10, which will show the impossibility of sending the Coast goods overland to Goa. Beg that a ship may be dispatched to these parts direct, with a capital of three or four thousand pounds. (¾ *p. Received by the* Alum, *June* 25, 1655.)

MESSRS. SPILLER AND YOUNG AT ISPAHĀN TO THE COMPANY, OCTOBER 14, 1654 (*O.C.* 2420).[1]

Wrote last on September 8, but hitherto have found no safe means for dispatching that letter. No sooner was it sealed than 'by advises from Tabreeze etc. we were informed by Armenians that their was an English embassador[2] arrived in those parts by way of Turkey, haveing three Englishmen more in his company, and was received by all this Kings Governours with greate respect; which also a letter to the cheife of the Carmalite order heere in this place[3] confirmes, and sayes the embassador goes by the name of my lord Belamount; and so much does some Frenchmens letters averr that were sent from Khasbien, where this King still keeps his court. But at those advises date he had not spoken with the King, whoe for some reasons defered awhile to admitt him unto his presence: one, we are told, is to inquire out exactly the quallitie of the person and import of his mesage, that he may receive respect accordingly; for when wee heard of him first (which was from Aeierwan [Erivān]) we were informed that hee was one of the Palsgraves brothers, and so went for currant awhile, but afterwards to be as above mencioned;

[1] For a second copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[2] This was the mission of Henry Bard, Viscount Bellomont, to which allusion has been made on p. 126. A full account of it will be found in Mr. Irvine's edition of Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, vol. i. p. 22.

[3] See p. 287.

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but there are so many reports raised of him that we cannot now say what he is, though we have wrytten and made much inquirie to finde it out.' Probably they will not know for certain until their linguist writes, who has gone to court about the customs and other business, including this embassy, although in their petition to the Itimād-uddaula no mention has been made of the matter. On September 24 arrived a letter from the Consul at Aleppo, dated June 12, announcing that a peace between England and Holland had been concluded at the beginning of April. This leads them to expect that ships from England will reach Gombroon shortly; and so Young is now about to depart for that place, with all the money available, and Spiller will follow as soon as he receives news from Court regarding the ambassador. The latter, it is said, 'seekes for your right of customes of Gumbroone, and for his assistance therein hath brought recommendatory letters from the States of Holland'.[1] It is certain that he has written to the Dutch chief here, and from this may be inferred that 'he is not on our side, but against us'. Do not fear the result, especially now that peace is concluded. The Bāshā of Basra's servants (who brought on the letter from Aleppo) had no sooner arrived here (with a present of twelve horses) than news came 'that Buszorah was (or very neare) taken by the Pashawes uncles, by assistance of the Turkes'. Various reports are current, but 'all conclude that the Pashaw hath retyred himself into this Kings confines, leaveing his sonne and cheife men to manage his affaires (if in his possesion) in and about Buszorah'. The result is that no messengers can be prevailed upon to journey that way; and they fear that their expected 'pattamarrs' from Aleppo will be delayed. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

MESSRS. SPILLER AND DANIEL AT ISPAHĀN TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, NOVEMBER 2, 1654 (*O.C.* 2426).

Wrote last on September 1, by way of Kung and Gombroon. Young left for the latter place on the 19th ultimo, carrying with him a little silk, treasure to the amount of 501,623 shāhīs, and some

[1] Apparently this latter statement was incorrect. Bellomont brought a letter of introduction from the Dutch resident at Smyrna, and this he sent to Angel, the Dutch chief at Ispahān, who forwarded it to Sarcerius at Gombroon. In reply Angel was instructed to treat the ambassador with civility but to abstain from giving him any assistance. (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xix. nos. 563 A, 564.)

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household provisions for Surat. The President and Council's letter of May 12 arrived here the 24th ultimo. Will carry out the instructions contained therein. Refer to Young as to the payment due from Lewis's estate. Reasons for doing nothing about the silk investment. Money and accounts to be sent to Surat; also some spices, if procurable in good season. With the Surat letter came one from Consul Riley at Aleppo, dated August 8, announcing that peace with Holland had been proclaimed in London on April 28, and that he was informed by the Dutch 'that the time for India was six months'; if so, the period is now expired. Spiller expresses his thanks for his nomination to succeed as President, though he fears that the task is a troublesome one at present and he, too, was counting on going home. He will proceed to Surat as soon as possible, leaving Young in charge. He hopes that the Company will consider him in the matter of salary, not only for the post of President but also for the time of his employment in Persia. Communication with Aleppo is hindered by the troubles at Basra, where the Arabs are up in arms against the Bāshā, 'whoe (we heare) hath gained his cittie againe'. Their linguist writes from court that he has had no opportunity to present their petition to the Itimād-uddaula, owing to his absence on a hunting expedition with the King. The English ambassador's business, it seems, is to get the Company's share of the Gombroon customs; but he has only seen the King once and what success he has had is not known. It is rumoured that the Itimād-uddaula will not allow his nephew to return to Gombroon as Shāhbandar, owing to the many complaints made against him. Have sold all their goods, except the China roots. The Consul at Aleppo writes that the English there are much molested by the Bāshā, and that no redress can be obtained from Constantinople. (*Copy.* 5 *pp.*)

MESSRS. SPILLER AND DANIEL AT ISPAHĀN TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 11, 1654 (*O.C.* 2427).

Wrote last on October 14. What has happened since will be learnt in part from the enclosed copy of a letter to Surat. Their linguist writes that he has presented their petition to the Itimād-uddaula, who has promised a speedy answer. The English ambassador is unable to obtain either a favourable answer to his

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application or leave to proceed hither; 'which, we are tould, does somewhat trouble him.' Timothy Cartwright advises from Gombroon that the Dutch were at first afraid to dispatch their two ships to Batavia, owing to a rumour of an English fleet in the Gulf; but on October 7 they received letters from Holland with the articles of peace and orders to promulgate it. The Dutch chief gave Cartwright a writing to that effect and took from him an acknowledgement; then on October 12 the ships were sent away. Nothing certain is known as to the state of affairs at Basra; some say that the city is in the hands of the Turks, others that it has been regained by the Bāshā, who has put himself under the protection of the King of Persia. This has delayed until now the dispatch of the enclosed letters from Surat. Spiller has been nominated to succeed to the post of President; he begs the Company to send out such commissions as have been demanded from Surat to secure due obedience to their orders. *PS.* (*November* 20)—Six days ago the Dutch here received from Gombroon notice of the peace, and on the 16th they paid a visit to the English house, which was returned two days later. On the latter date an express brought a letter from the Consul at Aleppo, dated August 23, enclosing two printed proclamations, one ordering a cessation of hostilities, the other announcing the conclusion of the treaty. The Consul had not received the articles of peace, although the Dutch have. Letters from Kasbin advise that the English ambassador may be expected here immediately; the linguist mentions nothing of this, but says that the ambassador has declared that his (the linguist's) coming to court has been a great hindrance to his 'quick dispatch'. This packet[1] is sent by the Dutch express to Aleppo. Copies will be dispeeded a few days later. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO THE COMPANY, NOVEMBER 23, 1654 (*O.C.* 2399).

As soon as 'the seas were navigable', the *Welcome* and *Dove* were ordered to Rājāpur, to fetch the pepper &c. awaiting shipment there. On August 15 a warrant was procured from the Governor of Surat for pilots to take the vessels down the river; but, the weather proving bad and the masters pretending that some repairs

[1] For a list of the contents see *O.C.* 2400.

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were needed to the hulls under water, the spring tide was lost and the ships remained here. On August 22 came a letter from Charles Conyers at Goa, advising the arrival of the *Eagle* on July 22. Have already explained the impossibility of sending her lading thither; to which may be added that a war has broken out between the Portuguese and 'the King of Decan', with the result that the territories of the former 'are soe much straitened that there is noe passage in nor out but with great difficultie'.[1] They therefore directed the *Eagle* to come to Surat, touching at Rājāpur on the way to embark the goods there. These orders were very welcome to the commander and crew, for had they stayed much longer at Goa 'they could not have procured foode to eate. Soe sadd a condition are the Portugalls there brought that, if they procure not peace with the Moores suddainely, undoubtedly all that part of the country wilbe lost, as all their townes and forts from thence 100 leagues alongst the coast to the southwards in the last two yeares have bein.' While at Goa some lead was sold to the Governor, but neither money nor cinnamon could be had for it, and payment was made by a bill on Damān. The ship arrived here on October 30. Meanwhile the crews of the *Dove* and *Welcome* had shown a great unwillingness to go to sea and had found means to neglect the opportunity offered by the spring tide about the beginning of September. A formal protest was therefore recorded against them on September 6.[2] At last, on the 28th of that month the two ships were got out of the river. Then, encouraged by reports from home of the probable conclusion of peace with the Dutch, they dispatched the *Dove* to Lārībandar, with orders to proceed thence to Gombroon and embark Spiller, in order that he may take charge here on the departure of Blackman and Pearce. No news has been received of her arrival at the former port; but this is probably due to her having made a wide circuit to avoid a Dutch fleet which was reported to be lying off Diu. The *Welcome* was sent to Rājāpur to fetch her lading of pepper, and returned

[1] Goa had been blockaded on the land side by the forces of the King of Bījāpur and had been reduced to great straits (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xix. no. 553).

[2] A copy of this forms *O.C.* 2409. There is another among the *O.C. Duplicates*. Under the same number (in both series) will be found Watterer's reply, protesting that he had done his best to get out of the river. An attestation to the same effect, by the native pilots and headmen employed, forms part of *O.C.* 2398.

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in company with the *Eagle*. The former is now ready to sail for England with a cargo amounting to about 276,000 mahmūdīs. In her goes home John Burnell, formerly chief at Lucknow. The enclosed account will show that he is indebted to the Company over 42,800 rupees, which he has no means of paying in this country. The sums he has cheated the Company of by the overrating of cloth have been proved by Rawdon, who is also sent home, though personally guiltless. Swinnerton confirmed the charges and would have gone home too, had he not died on November 1. He was accused by Burnell of cheating the Company of over 10,000 rupees, and he confessed to about 6,500 rupees. What goods were found of his were sold at Surat and the proceeds credited; the Company must take steps to recover the rest. Consider him as guilty as Burnell, for, if he did not take an active part in the deception, he at least connived at it. Another passenger in the *Welcome* is William Hargrave, late commander of the *Roebuck*.[1] In addition to his two captivities among the Dutch, he has had a tedious illness, from which he has now recovered. He has been given an advance of 600 mahmūdīs, which he promises to repay to the Company on demand. Five other passengers have been added to make up the eight which the ship is bound by charterparty to carry free. Gary, the Purser General, has made up, and now sends, the accounts of those and other servants of the Company. Several men have been spared to the *Welcome* and the *Dove*, thereby easing the Company of their wages. Most of the remaining seamen will return in the *Eagle*, leaving only ten or twelve English sailors in the country; but these will suffice for the *Seahorse*, the only vessel now left belonging to the Company, since the *Assada Merchant* is not worth repairing. As soon as news arrives of the conclusion of peace, the *Seahorse* will be sent with freight goods to Persia, and on her return will probably go to Basra. Cannot see any chance of dispatching to their destination the goods provided for Bantam; so these will probably have to be divided between Basra and England. As regards the saltpetre detained at Ahmadābād, they took the opportunity of Shāistah Khān's approaching departure to negotiate its release; and on their abating over 100*l.* in the price of the

[1] *O.C.* 2429 is a copy of a commission from the President and Council, appointing Hargrave to take charge of the *Welcome* in the event of the death of her commander.

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tapestry received by the *Smyrna Merchant*, he allowed them to bring it to Surat just before the rains. The purchase of the further quantity required by the Company was deferred until the arrival of the Khān's successor, Murād Bakhsh, the fourth son of the King. He gave them leave to buy what they would, and thereupon they contracted for a quantity. However, when part had been received and was being refined, an order came from the King's Dīwān prohibiting them from buying or transporting any saltpetre from thence. This embargo they have not succeeded in removing, though this has been promised from time to time; so they have arranged to buy a quantity in the Deccan to make up the desired amount for England. Their relations with 'the people of Decan' are excellent, and for the cloth seized belonging to the Second General Voyage full satisfaction has now been recovered. Enclose a letter lately received from Fort St. George. The letters for that place brought by the *Eagle* were dispatched thither on October 31. From Masulipatam came the news that the *Alum* frigate reached Balasore about the beginning of August. While on the point of dispatching this letter, the Dutch chief at Surat informed them that he had received letters from Holland, dated May 3, notifying the conclusion of peace and directing a cessation of hostilities. He gave them copies of these letters, to be sent in the *Welcome*, to be shown should they meet any Dutch vessels. Advance made to her commander to buy necessaries. The Surat and Masulipatam accounts will be forwarded by the *Eagle*. *PS.*—The following is a list of the passengers: Hargrave, Burnell, Rawdon, Joseph Collins, John Ashdown, Richard Owen, William West, Richard Fletcher, and [*illegible*]. (5 *pp.* *Received May* 3, 1655.[1])

PRESIDENT BAKER TO HENRY GREENHILL AT FORT ST. GEORGE, DECEMBER 2, 1654 (*O.C.* 2441).

Sends him a translation [*see* p. 258] of a 'Gentue' paper received some months past from the Brahmans. It contains some things that are slight and trivial, but others that are of importance. It is now communicated to Greenhill in order that he may consider it against the arrival of the Masulipatam factors, the Company having directed a full examination of the charges contained therein. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

[1] For a list of the packet see *O.C.* 2428.

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DECLARATION BY [JOHN LEIGH], MADRAS, DECEMBER 16, 1654 (*O.C.* 2432).[1]

1. President Baker gave to a 'painter' a piece of ground belonging to Timmanna, though the latter exhibited the title-deeds. 2. He permitted another 'painter' to sell a house belonging to Rudriga. 3. The wife of Jacob Fuddle, a freeman of this town, sent an adventure to Bantam by William Newbiggin, one of Baker's servants. A dispute ensued about the division of the profit, and nothing was paid. Newbiggin died and his widow married another of the President's servants. Fuddle, 'being required to goe serve the Mogulls sonne', demanded a settlement, but answer was made that the adventure was lost; and Baker 'would neither lett him have his money nor law for his money'. 4. A small quantity of silk entrusted to a 'Comitee' [Komati] having been lost by disaster, Baker imprisoned the merchant in the Fort from Friday morning until Sunday night, 'without eating or drinking (these people, although they should starve, will not eate under restraint)'. 5. In a case where payment was claimed on a bill from 'Mortee' [Mūrti], the father of one of Baker's peons, a counterclaim was made which Leigh, as Judge of the Choultry, dismissed. Thereupon 'Mortee' and the Brahman took the bill away from the plaintiff and tore it up. Complaint was made to Leigh, who represented the matter to Baker, but the latter would do nothing to secure justice. 6. Leigh demands to know by what authority he was detained prisoner for fourteen days. 7. Complains of the way in which certain evidence was offered regarding the Brahmans' charges against Greenhill and Leigh. (*Copy.* 3¼ *pp.*)

THOMAS ANDREWS AT AGRA TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 25, 1654 (*O.C.* 2433).[2]

Explains his indebtedness to the Company. In 1651 a broker was sent to 'Corjah' [Khurja] from Agra to make the indigo investment in conjunction with the Dutch. Like the latter, he agreed for a quantity and advanced part of the money, the price being left to be determined later by the current rate. The broker

[1] Extracts are given in Love's *Vestiges* (vol. i. p. 139).
[2] For another copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

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died, whereupon Andrews was sent to see to the matter. He found that the price 'opened by the Persia merchants' was 45¾ rupees per maund; and, judging this to be too high, he endeavoured to cancel the bargain. This, however, he could not effect, and he was obliged to take 50 bales. On returning to Biāna, he told Jesson that the indigo was not good enough for the Company, and proposed to him that they should take each one half on private account. This Jesson refused to do; so, fearing to be blamed, Andrews took the whole parcel himself, with the result that not only was he branded as a private trader but he lost nearly 10,000 rupees over the matter. In 1652 they 'had a very plentifull cash in this factory', and were ordered to put it out at interest. Failing to find anyone willing to take money on these terms, Jesson allowed Andrews to borrow 21,000 rupees at ¾ per cent. per month, to discharge his liabilities on account of the indigo before mentioned, the transaction being concealed by entering it in other men's names. He had counted on repaying the money out of what he expected from Persia, but the outbreak of the war with the Dutch caused the loss of what was sent him from Gombroon and prevented further remittances. The result is that he owes the Company upwards of 23,000 rupees, towards which he has 10,000 rupees in Persia and 4,000 rupees at Surat in goods and money; the balance he hopes to defray from the proceeds of 500*l.* worth of musk sent home and from money which he has asked his friends in England to forward to him. Trusts that a favourable construction will be placed upon his actions, which were intended for the good of the Company, though unfortunately the event has proved otherwise. In addition, he is indebted here 11,000 rupees, which he must pay before he can leave Agra. He has written to his friends in England to remit the necessary funds, and he now begs the Company 'not to make any great stirr about the debt I owe you', as this may deter his friends from helping him; and further he asks that the proceeds of his musk should be consigned to the President for his account. Complains that the President and Council, on hearing of his indebtedness, ordered that he should no longer be employed, and they now address everything to Jesson alone; he begs that he may be continued in the service, and not be 'cast of in such a despicable maner'. (*Signed copy. 2 pp.*)

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PAUL WALDEGRAVE AND T[HOMAS] S[TEVENSON] AT BALASORE TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 28, 1654 (*O.C.* 2435).

On August 4 arrived here a small frigate named the *Alum*, to their great joy, 'therein hopeing to have receaved both business and advises, to have revived our creditts'; but they were disappointed, for she proved to belong to 'a particuler accompt'. Now forward by her a Fort St. George letter [*see* p. 289], entrusted to Thomas Clarke. As regards the state of the Company's affairs in these parts, much expense and trouble have been caused by the actions of their predecessors. 'Mr. Bridgman, when he left Hugly, (upon what reasons other then sinister cannott be imagined) was pleased to engage his word to some Moores there negociating the affaires of the Prince and other great persons, that there was in Ballasore a very great present for the Prince, etc. Soone after, it pleased the President and Councell at Surratt to comand from Agra ten thousand rupees, to be invested in and about Hugly for Persia; which drew Your Worships servants thither to prosequute that affaire; whereupon there appeared in efect of that promise (though certainly, had wee bene acquainted therewith, wee should have endeavored something to have pacified them) Your Worships servants were imprisoned and not suffered to eate or drink till wee had given securitie for 4,000 rupees; which wee since laboured with these great persons to take of, and it hath bene as chargeable as if the aforesaid sum had bene presently paid.' Of this the Company have no doubt been informed long since from Fort St. George. Edward Stephens, who died at Kāsimbāzār while Brookhaven was here, was found to be much in debt to the Company, besides owing in Hūglī 4,200 rupees. Bridgman at his departure gave a written obligation for the payment of the latter debt out of the Company's cash. Blake and Pitt, who also signed the document, affirmed that Bridgman took the old papers, promising to deliver them at Fort St. George, but this he failed to do. 'The debt still remaines as Your Worships; which, with the aforesaid, the warr with the Dutch, and discontinuance of trade here, hath rendred Your Worships affaires, present and future, subject to many inconveniencyes.' Enclose lists of the remains at Balasore and Hūglī. A quantity of saltpetre has been stopped at Rājmahāl 'for custome' and cannot now reach Hūglī till after the

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next rains. To secure its release and for future negotiations it is most requisite that 'some considerable and valuable present' be provided for the Prince and other great men yearly, especially as the Dutch give largely. In spite of the victories obtained in Europe over the latter, 'yett because wee have not supplyes to second our reports to these people nor any business that may be thought in the least proportionable to the great and vast trade of the Hollanders here, it hath caused us to be very suspiciously lookt upon in the opinion of these unbeleiving people'. No doubt the Company have been fully informed of these matters from Fort St. George. 'These places of Bengala and Eurixa [Orissa] sufficiently manifest that here is roome enough for the imployment of a very great stock; where, although the Dutch invest at least 200,000*l.* sterling yearly, and some years find lading for seven and eight ships of burthen, nevertheless Your Worships, supplying this place with stock sufficient and honest men to manadg it, will soone find as great business and as much profitt; when, besides for the shipping Your Worships shall designe to returne for Europe, there may be sufficient to imploy to Persia, the Red Sea, Acheen, Pegue, Tanassara, and Zealoan, places which all of them returne good profitt from, and are all of them within the monsoons of this.' With a largely increased commerce it would be easy to gain the favour of those in authority and secure the trade from disturbance; whereas mere residencies without funds to employ, though the charges are heavy, produce nothing but disappointment. 'The *Allum* frigatt, we are confident, can testifie how poore the consequences will be of a free trade in India without restraint or government; and those that appeare next on such accompts will find it wors. Though these places are free for all men to trade in that come and bring mony in their hands, yett, as shee hath, so the rest will find it hard to have no better authoritie to bear them out.' The pinnace *Mariner* is proceeding to Fort St. George with sugar and saltpetre to complete the lading of the *Katherine*, which reached that place on November 4. (*Copy.* 3½ *pp.*)

PROTEST BY JOHN LEIGH AGAINST MESSRS. YARDLEY AND CHAMBER, FORT ST. GEORGE, DECEMBER 29, 1654 (*O.C.* 2436).

1. Yardley overcharged the Company for household provisions. 2. He and Chamber cozened the Company of 500 pagodas 'at every

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shipinge'. 3. Yardley trucked broadcloth and afterwards bought it again at a reduction, probably replacing it in stock and charging ready money in lieu at the higher price. 4. He took the best of a parcel of calicoes for himself at the price allowed for the worst, and left the remainder for the Company at the price of the best. 5. He cut the Company's 'chop' from certain calicoes, sold what he pleased, and put the 'chop' again on the rest. 6. His peons exacted 20 per cent. from the merchants that supplied cloth for the Company. 7. Chamber and William Winter sent the Company's money to Vizagapatam, brought back the goods freight free, and appropriated the profit. They picked out the best dollars for their own purposes, and sent on the Company's business 500 pieces of eight that weighed but $5\frac{3}{4}$ fanams each, causing a loss of 10*d.* apiece. 8. Johnson has averred that Yardley and Chamber 'were as arrant theeves against the Company as any theeves in Newgate'. 9. It is reported that the goods they sent to Pegu were so bad that it has become a proverb there that, 'if it come from Metchlapatam, wee will not medle with it.' The names of those who can testify to these things are added to each article. ($1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

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